Story of Civilization
Part - I

Arjun Dev

विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते

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NCERT

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

PART I

Textbook in History for Class X

ARJUN DEV

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The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) has been preparing and publishing school textbooks and other educational material for children and teachers. These publications are regularly revised on the basis of feedback from students, teachers, parents and teacher educators. Research done by the NCERT also forms the basis for updating and revision.

This textbook is based on the National Curriculum Framework for School Education – 2000 and the syllabi prepared in accordance with it. However, in view of the recommendation of the panel of historians constituted by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the Executive Committee of the NCERT, in its meeting held on 19 July 2004, decided that, from the academic session 2005-06, the pre-2000 books of history will be restored with appropriate modifications in line with the existing curriculum. It was also decided that the textbooks of all other subjects will undergo a quick review for bringing necessary changes, wherever required. In pursuance of this decision, the earlier history textbook for Class X *The Story of Civilisation Vol-II* has been modified. The content of the present textbook *Social Science Part-I* covers the chapters 14-16 from the above book. Unit IV of the revised social science syllabus is covered by this book. We hope that this revised edition will serve as an effective medium of teaching and learning. We look forward to your suggestions to enable us to further improve the quality of this book.

SECRETARY
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New Delhi
January 2005

CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Preamble

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizen:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

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CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Part IV A (Article 51 A)

Fundamental Duties

Fundamental Duties – It shall be the duty of every citizen of India —

(a) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;

(b) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;

(c) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;

(d) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

(e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;

(f) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;

(g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures;

(h) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;

(i) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;

(j) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement;

(k) who is a parent or guardian, to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

CHAPTER 1

The Heritage of India

THE heritage of India is the result of developments in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the Indian people over a period of thousands of years. You have already read briefly about these developments. In this chapter, you will read about some aspects and features of these developments which are important for an understanding of India's heritage.

The Land and the People

Two basic components of this heritage, which have at the same time shaped this heritage, are the land, the natural and physical environment of India, and the people who have inhabited this land. The generations of people who have inhabited India during various periods of her history have interacted with their physical and natural environment. They have also interacted among themselves. Through these processes of interaction—between people and their natural and physical environment and among themselves—the people have created their history, their social, economic, cultural and political life. These processes of interaction have been going on for thousands of years, bringing in changes in the life of the people. The world of man, therefore, has never been stationary.

India is a vast country. It extends for nearly 3000 kilometres from Kashmir in the north to Kanyakumari in the south and for the same distance from its western-most parts to its eastern-most parts. Nature has made it into a distinct geographical entity. The Himalayan ranges in the north and the sea in the east, west and south separate it from the rest of the world. The people inhabiting the country from very early times as well as people of other parts of the world have viewed it as a single integral and distinctive unit.

These geographical features, however, while making her a well-defined unit separated from the rest of the world, have not become a barrier to contacts with the rest of the world. Since the time of the Old Stone Age, people from neighbouring as well as distant regions have been coming into India through the mountain passes and the seas and making India their home. The people of India have been formed as a result of these migrations over thousands of years. They are the descendants of groups of people belonging to almost all the 'racial stocks' of mankind and their admixtures who made India their home. The main 'racial types' which have gone into the making of the Indian population are the Proto-Australoids, the Palaeo-Mediterraneans, the Caucasoids, the Negroids and the Mongoloids in their varying degrees of mixtures. In historical times, the ethnic groups which have come to India and made India their home include the

Indo-European speaking people (the Indo-Aryans), the Persians, the Greeks, the Kushanas, the Shakas, the Hunas, the Arabs, the Turks, the Africans and the Mongols. During the past few hundred years, many Europeans have also made India their home. All these 'racial' and ethnic groups have intermingled with one another and few of them can be recognized in their original form. Thus, India has been a crucible of various 'races' and ethnic groups. They have all contributed to the making of Indian history and culture.

The migration of people into India has been a major factor in the development of various aspects of India's life and culture since pre-historic times. In historical times, the importance of this factor is conspicuous in almost every period of India's history. The people from other cultures and civilizations have brought with them their own traditions which got intermixed and integrated with the pre-existing traditions. Similarly, people of India have gone to other parts of the world and various elements of culture carried by them have intermixed and have been integrated with the pre-existing cultures there. During the past 2000 years, the influence of various elements of Indian culture has been particularly evident in many countries of Asia.

The vastness of the country and the great variations in its geographical features —land forms, natural resources, climate and others —have provided the bases for a great variety in ways of living from very early times. The mountains and the river systems have been an important factor in the emergence of a number of distinct cultural zones within the country. The Vindhya ranges, for example, divided India into north and south with the people of the Indo-European family of languages predominating in the northern, and those of the Dravidian family of languages in the southern parts of the country. These factors, however, have not made any part of the country isolated from the other parts. The physical barriers between different parts were not insurmountable even in early times when means of travel were not developed. They did not prevent the movement of the people from one part of the country to another. Despite the Vindhya ranges, for example, the movement of people from the north to the south and vice versa has been going on from very early times. Thus while geographical factors have deeply influenced the emergence of distinctive ways of living of people in different parts of the country, the interaction between them has been going on. The availability of different natural resources in the country has also furthered links between its diverse parts. These factors have helped the processes of both unity and diversity. The historical development of the country has brought the people together and has led to the growth of a common culture to which all parts of the country have contributed. At the same time, each part of the country has developed its own distinct identity. Because of this, the historical and cultural development of India is often described as one of unity in diversity and the culture of the country as a whole a composite one comprising distinct parts. It has never been a monolith.

As mentioned above, people of all parts of the country have contributed to the emergence of a common culture. No particular part of region of the country has been the main centre or source of Indian culture, and different regions during different periods have played a leading role —setting new trends and influencing

developments in other parts of the country. This has been true as much of political history as of other aspects of historical development. The first major political power arose in northern India with its centre in the region around modern Patna. In the subsequent centuries, powerful kingdom and empires were built in north-western India, the Deccan and the south. The Turkish Sultans and the Mughal emperors ruled over large parts of India with their centre at Delhi and, for some time, at Agra. In the eighteenth century, the Marathas, after setting up their kingdom in western India, built a vast all-India empire. In this context, it is important to remember the concept of the *chakravartin* ruler which was developed in India in ancient times. This ideal envisaged political unification of the entire country.

Another feature of India's culture has been that it did not develop into a finished form in any period. Throughout her long history, India's culture has been changing and developing due to internal factors and contacts with other cultures. This process of change and development continues. The culture of India, as of any other country, is not a fixed entity. Many aspects of culture, if they retard further progress, get discarded, others are changed, sometimes beyond recognition; some others continue to survive and remain important, while many new elements are added.

A remarkable feature of Indian historical and cultural development has been its continuity. This continuity has few parallels in the history of other civilizations. For example, the cultures of some of the earliest civilizations in human history left little evidence of their influence over subsequent cultural developments of the countries in which they had developed. In India, on the other hand, some elements of the Harappan culture continue to exist to this day.

It is interesting to know the story of the name of our country. The ancient Indians referred to their country as 'Jambudvipa' or the continent of the Jambu tree. The ancient Persians referred to our country as the land beyond the river *Sindhu (Indus)*. They, however, pronounced it as 'Hindu' The word spread westward and the whole country came to be known by the name of its river. The Greeks called it 'Inde' and the Arabs 'Hind'. In medieval times, the country was called 'Hindustan' from the Persian word. The English called it 'India' from the Greek 'Inde'. The present name 'Bharat', derived from the ancient usage, means 'the land of the Bharatas', an ancient Indian tribe.

Before studying the development of a few selected aspects of India's culture, it may be worthwhile to recapitulate broad features of Indian historical development.

The Ancient Period

You have read in an earlier chapter that India was one of the oldest centres of the prehistoric cultures of the world. India was also the cradle of one of the earliest civilizations in history — the Harappan culture. The Harappan culture was the first urban culture to emerge in India. Many of its features distinguished it from all its contemporary cultures in other parts of the world, and made it distinctly Indian.

Larger in extent than any of its contemporary civilizations, it was spread over parts of Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, western Uttar pradesh and Gujarat and had links with some other parts of India as well as with contemporary civilizations in West Asia. After its decline, India did not have cities for about a thousand years. However, all that this

civilization had built was not forgotten and many of its features became a part of the Indian culture in the subsequent years.

The next major phase in ancient Indian history is the Vedic age which began with the coming of the Indo-European speaking people (the Indo-Aryans) and ended in about seventh century B.C. Initially, this phase marked a reversal in some respects. For example, it marked the end of city life, reversal to a pastoral economy and the predominance of a tribal system of political organization. However, with the knowledge and use of iron technology, it saw the beginning of the spread of agriculture throughout the country. It thus laid the foundations of a civilization in all parts of the country, whereas the Harappan culture had been confined to parts of north-western India. The culture that began to emerge during this phase was the result of the intermixing of the Indo-Aryans with the pre-existing inhabitants of India. It is interesting to remember that some elements of the culture of this period have survived over a period of 3000 years and continue to be a part of Indian culture today.

The next phase, covering the period from about the sixth century B.C. to about 200 B.C., is marked by far-reaching changes in almost every aspect of life in India. This period saw the spread of agriculture over large parts of the country, the rise of cities and the formation of states. The period also saw the rise and decline of the first all-India empire in Indian history. This period is important not only for political unity but also for cultural unity. Two major religions —Jainism and Buddhism —which arose in the sixth century B.C. left a lasting influence on Indian life and culture. These religions also influenced religious beliefs and practices which, grouped together, are known as Hinduism. Hinduism as it developed, included many Vedic beliefs and practices but had many other features which distinguished it from the religion of the Vedas. This period saw the spread throughout the country of beliefs and practices associated with Hinduism, including Vedic religion, as well as Buddhism and Jainism. Alongside these, a large number of other beliefs and practices also continued. The Varna system, the system of social organization popularly known as the caste system, which had arisen in the Vedic Age now became well-established and gradually became the dominant form of social organization throughout the country. This form of social organization was peculiar to India. The rise of cities, crafts and trade also furthered the process of cultural unity. This process is best exemplified by Ashoka. He unified almost the entire country under one empire but renounced the use of war as state policy. Instead he declared the victory of righteousness as the real victory. In him we also find a change in the ideal of kingship. Ashoka, in one of his edicts, said, "Whatever exertions I make, I strive only to discharge the debt that I owe to all living creatures". Most of his inscriptions spread over different parts of the country are in Prakrit, which seems to have become the *lingua franca* of the country, and in Brahmi script, the earliest known Indian script, and mother of most Indian scripts. However, in areas where the language and script were different, the Ashokan edicts were inscribed in the local language and the local script. Though he himself became a Buddhist, Ashoka made no effort to impose it on others. In one of his edicts, he said, "One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it

over all other religions, does injure one's own religion most certainly".

The next phase in ancient Indian history covers the period from about 200 B.C. to about A.D. 300. This phase is extremely important for the changes that took place in economic and political life, and significant developments in various aspects of culture, including religon, art and science and technology. In economic life, this period is significant for advancement in India's international trade, both by land and sea routes, and the emergence of crafts and towns, unknown to earlier phases of ancient Indian history. In political life, large parts of north-western, northern and western India were ruled by dynasties of non-Indian origin. These were the Indo-Greeks, the Shakas, the Parthians and the Kushanas. These political contacts facilitated developments in the economy mentioned above and brought India into close contact with the cultures of Central and West Asia and with the Graeco-Roman world. This interaction played an important role in the flowering of Indian culture during this phase. Most of the foreign rulers of Indian territories adopted one or the other Indian religion. A significant event was the growth of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism, which the Kushana ruler Kanishka patronized, and the development of the great Buddhist art associated with it. In the Deccan and the south, a number of states emerged, including the powerful kingdom of the Satavahanas. These states also developed close trade relations with other parts of the world. There was significant progress of Buddhist art in the Deccan, and the beginning of Tamil literature in the south. India's first contact with Christianity is believed to have taken place during this period, though it was many centuries later that Christianity came to have a significant following in India.

The last phase of the ancient period of Indian history starts in early fourth century A.D. and ends in about the eighth century. The Guptas built a large kingdom during this period which remained powerful for about a century. In the Deccan and the south, there were two major kingdoms during this period—of the Pallavas and of the Chalukyas. In some respects, this was also a period of reversals, which witnessed a gradual decline of towns and trade, of strong centralized states, and the beginning of the system of land grants. These developments, according to some scholars, mark the beginning of feudalism in India. Some of the finest achievements in various fields of culture—art, architecture, literature, philosophy, science, technology—can, however, be dated to this period. Because of these achievements, this period is often described as the classical age of Indian civilization. In religion, this is a period of decline of Buddhism and the rise of Brahmanical religion or Hinduism as we know it today. Idol worship became popular and building of temples on a large scale started in the south and the Deccan as well as in the north. Art inspired by Buddhism also continued, particularly in sculpture and painting. Great progress was made in literature, both religious and secular, in Sanskrit which also became the language of the courts in most parts of the country. Tamil literature also made great progress and the Alvars and Nayanars, the Vaishnavite and Shaivite saints, made lasting contributions to it. In spite of the dominant position of Sanskrit in most parts of the country, this period marks the beginning of many modern Indian languages as well as distinct scripts in different parts of

the country. The period is also important for some of the most significant advances in science and technology. Most of the major works in astronomy, mathematics and medicine belong to this period.

By the time the ancient period of Indian history came to a close, India had developed a culture which was marked by features that have characterized it ever since.

The Medieval Period

During the medieval period, some of the achievements of the ancient times were carried forward and new and magnificent structures were built on those foundations. Many new elements appeared in Indian society which influenced the growth of various aspects of culture.

The period from the eighth to the twelfth century in political life is dominated mainly by the presence of a large number of states. The bigger ones among them tried to establish their supremacy in northern India and the Deccan. The main contenders in this struggle for supremacy were the Pratiharas, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas. In the south, the most powerful kingdom to emerge during this period was that of the Cholas. The Cholas brought about the political unification of large parts of the country but the general political picture was that of fragmentation, particularly in northern India. The process of decline in trade and of urban centres had continued. In social life, there was greater rigidification of the caste system than before. In some respects, the period was characterized by stagnation and insularity. Seen as a whole, however, the situation was not so dismal. Some of the most splendid temples in India were built, in a variety of regional styles, during this period, both in the north and the south. The period is also important for the growth of modern Indian languages. Architecture, sculpture, literature, and philosophy flourished under the patronage of the Chola kings. Trade and cultural contacts with the countries of South-East Asia received an impetus in the Chola kingdom. New trends towards cultural unity also emerged during this period. One of these trends is associated with the name of the philosopher Shankaracharya who set up his *maths* or monasteries in different parts of the country. The other was the beginning of the Bhakti cult throughout the country. It had originated with the Alvars and Nayanars, the Vaishnavite and Shaivite saints, in southern India. In the following centuries, this cult became a major feature of the religious life of the people in most parts of the country.

It was in this period that India's contact with the new religion of Islam began. The contacts began late in the seventh century through the Arab traders. Later, in early eighth century, the Arabs conquered Sind. In the tenth century, the Turks emerged as a powerful force in Central and West Asia and carved out kingdoms for themselves. They conquered Persia but, in turn, their life was deeply influenced by the old and rich Persian culture. The Turks first invaded India during the late tenth and early eleventh century and Punjab came under Turkish rule. Another series of Turkish invasions in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century led to the establishment of the Sultanat of Delhi. Within a few centuries after the rise of Islam in Arabia, it became the second most popular religion in India with followers in every part of the country.

The establishment of the Sultanat of Delhi marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of medieval India. Politically,

it led to the unification of northern India and parts of the Deccan for almost a century. Its rulers, almost from the time of the establishment of the Sultanat, succeeded in separating it from the country from which they had originally come. The Sultanat disintegrated towards the end of the fourteenth century leading to the emergence of a number of kingdoms in different parts of the country. Some of these, for example, the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms, became very powerful. In society, the period is important for the introduction of new elements—the Turks, the Persians, the Mongols and the Afghans, besides the Arabs who had settled sown in some coastal regions—into India. There were important changes in economic life also. Trade and crafts received a stimulus and many new towns arose as centres of administration, trade and crafts. New elements of technology were also introduced during this period.

Culturally, this period marks the beginning of a new stage in the growth of India's composite culture. It saw the introduction of new features in art and architecture of India and their diffusion to all parts of the country. The architecture that developed during this period was the result of the synthesis of the traditions of Central Asia and Persia with the pre-existing Indian styles. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, distinctive styles of art and architecture also developed in the regional kingdoms, which had emerged with the disintegration of the Sultanat. During this time notable advances were made in the development of languages and literature. Modern Indian languages, which had started developing earlier, became major vehicles of literature. These languages were enriched by the Bhakti saints and this gave the literature of these languages many common features. Two new languages—Arabic and Persian became a part of India's linguistic heritage. Of these, Arabic was mainly the language of Islamic learning. For literature and in its widespread use, Persian was more important. In many areas, it replaced Sanskrit as the court language and throughout the country, along with Sanskrit, it became the language of learning. Historical writings for the first time became an important component of Indian literature. Under the influence of Persian, new forms of literature such as the *ghazal* were introduced.

The period saw two great religious movements, besides the spread of a new religion. The Bhakti movement which had started many centuries earlier, spread throughout the country. Significantly, the Bhakti movement, best represented by Kabir and Nanak, disapproved of religious narrow-mindedness, superstitions and observance of formal rituals. The Bhakti saints condemned caste inequalities and laid stress on human brotherhood. The other was the Sufi movement. The Sufis, or the Muslim mystics, preached the message of love and human brotherhood. These two movements played a leading role in combating religious exclusiveness and narrow-mindedness and in bringing the people of all communities together. Sikhism began to emerge as a new religion based on the teachings of Guru Nanak and other saints.

The growth of a composite culture reached its highest point under the Great Mughals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Mughals built an empire which once again brought about the political unification of a large part of the country.

Like Ashoka earlier, Akbar, the greatest of the Mughal emperors, followed a policy of *Sulh-kul* ('peace with all'). He said, "The various religious communities are Divine treasures entrused to us by God. We must love them as such. It should be our firm faith that every religion is blessed by Him, and our earnest endeavour to enjoy the bliss of the evergreen garden of universal toleration. The Eternal King showers his favours on all men without distinction. Kings who are 'shadows of God' should never give up this principle". Some of the finest specimens of Indian architecture and literature belong to this period. A new significant art form was painting which flourished under the partonage of the Mughal court. Influenced by the Persian traditions, the Mughal painting developed into a distinct Indian style. It later spread to other parts of the country in various regional styles. Another significant development was the emergence of a new language –Urdu–which became the *lingua franca* of the people of the towns in many parts of the country.

The Modern Period

The eighteenth century marks the beginning of the modern period of India's history. Politically, the period saw the decline of the Mughal empire and the rise of a number of small and big independent states in different parts of the country. None of these states was able to replace the Mughal empire which had politically unified a large part of the country for about 150 years. In spite of this, however, the process of the growth of a composite culture continued. This is evident from the new schools of painting which arose as a result of the influence of the Mughal painting, literature in various Indian languages, including Urdu, and the continuing process of the coming together of people belonging to different communities.

This period, when looked at in the context of changes taking place in some other parts of the world, is one of stagnation. You have read before about some of the developments that had been bringing about far-reaching changes in the social, economic, cultural and political life of Europe. Significant advancements had taken place in the field of science, and soon new technologies were to further transform the social, economic and political life in many countries of Europe. The process of colonization of vast areas of the world by a few European countries had been under way since the sixteenth century. Changes of a comparable nature failed to take place in India, as also in other countries of Asia and Africa. There was also no awareness of the importance of the changes taking place in Europe in spite of contacts with European traders, missionaries and others. From about the middle of the eighteenth century, the conquest of India by Britain began. It was completed in a few decades and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the entire country was under the direct or indirect rule of the British. For the first time in her history, India came under foreign rule. She was ruled by foreigners who had not come to settle but to rule in the interest of their mother country. A new system of exploitation of one country by the dominant classes and groups of another country came into being. Under the new conditions created by foreign rule, the people of India were awakened and this awakening expressed itself, finally, in the struggle for independence, the end of imperialist exploitation of India and the building of a new India. From the early decades of the nineteenth

century, various social, religious, cultural and intellectual movements took root which aimed at removing the state of stagnation of Indian society. These movements were influenced by the modern democratic, humanistic and scientific thought and played an important role in promoting national consciousness and in laying the foundations of a new phase in India's cultural development. The nationalist movement united the Indian people on a new basis. It recognized and cherished the unity in diversity and the composite nature of India's culture as its unique feature. The nurturing of this feature was an integral part of the nationalist movement's objective of building an independent, united and forward-looking India. You will read about some aspects of the developments that took place in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Chapters 15 and 16.

The historical background discussed in this section provided the broad context for studying the development of a few aspects of culture which are described in the following sections.

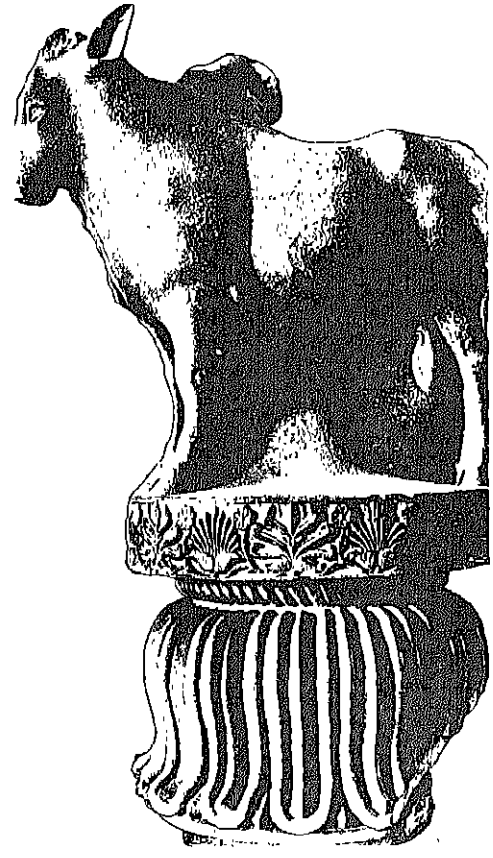
ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The story of Indian art begins with Harappan culture. You have seen that the Harappans were great builders, skilled in town planning. The houses with the various facilities, the granaries, the Great Bath, show how skilful and efficient the people were in construction. The terracotta and stone images, the bronze figure of the dancing girl and the artistic seals reveal the exquisite workmanship of the artists.

Mauryan Period

The next stage of Indian art begins with the Mauryan period. It was a period of economic prosperity, important development in religious thinking and practice and also one of remarkable artistic achievements. Megasthenes, who came to India as the ambassador of the Greek ruler Seleucus, described the palace of Chandragupta Maurya in glowing terms. It was large and luxurious and built of carved wood. The earliest stone buildings were based on wooden models.

The monolithic pillars of Ashoka on which are inscribed his famous edicts are



Rampurva Bull Capital

the great monuments of the Mauryan age. Some scholars trace these pillars to the influence of Persia. The most striking feature of these pillars is the finely carved capital with magnificent animal figures. We are all familiar with Sarnath lion capital which forms part of India's National Emblem. The Rampurva Bull capital is one of the best specimens of animal sculpture. The polish and smoothness of these pillars are amazing.

Another artistic achievement of this period is the famous stupa at Sanchi. In every stupa there was a small chamber in which a casket with relics of the Buddha or the Buddhist monks were placed. The surface of the stupa was generally built of bricks with a thick layer of plaster. The stupa was crowned by an umbrella of stone. The monument was surrounded by a fence with a path provided for *Pradakshina* (circumambulation). The original stupas were enlarged and beautified from time to time. The Sanchi stupa which still stands intact is a well-preserved and splendid monument. A number of lesser stupas and other buildings such as monasteries and rest-houses are found in and around the main stupa.

The stupa at Sanchi as it stands today has stone railings and gateways around it. These were added later after the Mauryas. The gateways are a very striking feature. There are four gateways at the four cardinal points and they contain very lively and beautifully carved panels. In these panels are depicted events from the life of the Buddha and details from the *Jataka* stories. They also depict a landscape of trees and floral designs, groups of animals and birds, beautiful figures of *yakshas* and *yakshinis*, and men and women. Thus the Sanchi reliefs present the story of the Buddha and provide glimpses into Indian life through

Sanchi Stupa

clear, simple and dramatic scenes.

The Buddha is depicted in these panels not through his image but through the use of various symbols; for example, the horse represents his 'renunciation', the 'boddhi' tree his enlightenment.

Gandhara and Mathura Schools of Art

The next important stage in the growth of art is associated with the name of Gandhara in the north-west. By this time the worship of the image of Buddha had become common. After the Greek invasions and during the period of the Kushanas, many artists from West Asia had settled down in the north-west of India. They were deeply influenced by the Graeco-Roman art. Mahayana Buddhism encouraged image worship. The Kushana kings, particularly Kanishka, encouraged the Gandhara artists to sculpture themes from Buddha's life and the *Jatakas*. The distinctive school of art which grew here is called the Gandhara school of art. A large number of the images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were produced.

Another school of art to develop in the early centuries of the Christian era is that of Mathura. From the beginning of the Christian era, Mathura became an important centre of artistic activities and the figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were produced there. The fine qualities of indigenous art traditions were preserved and improved upon by the Mathura sculptors. The images produced here became the models for the succeeding generations of artists.

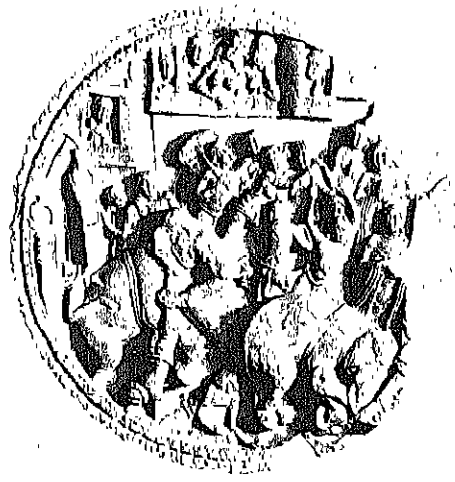
This was also the period of the growth of art in Amaravati, developed under the Satavahana kings. Like the stupa at Sanchi, there was a great stupa in Amaravati in the lower Godavari valley. The stupa has disappeared but many of its fine pieces are still intact in various museums. Many bas-relief medallions and panelled friezes decorated the stupa. These, like the stupa at Sanchi, depict events from the life of the Buddha and the *Jataka* stories. One of these depicts the story of the taming of the elephant by the Buddha. A rogue-elephant was let loose to kill the Buddha while he was walking along the streets of Rajagriha. The panel shows the elephant rushing

Boddhisattva, Gandhara

through the streets, the panic it caused, the reactions of men and women and finally the elephant kneeling before the Buddha. The climax is portrayed subtly and the magic of the story is brought out by a single panel.

There are a number of other places in this region where Buddhist remains have been discovered. The excavations at Nagarjuna-konda before that site was submerged in the waters of the Nagarjunasagar dam have added to the treasures of the Buddhist art.

The Gupta period saw the flowering of ancient Indian culture. One of the significant developments was the beginning of the Hindu temple. An example of this is the



Amaravati medallion depicting the taming of the elephant by the Buddha

temple at Deogarh which was a small shrine-room where the image of the god was placed. The *varahavatar* depicted in the Udaygiri cave is a very impressive one. The simple and lovely Buddha images from Sarnath are an evidence of the skill of the sculptors of the Gupta period. Some of the caves of Ajanta and Ellora also belong to this period.

The Hindu temple which began in this period had a simple square as its ground-plan.

Cave Architecture

The development of the cave architecture is an important phase in the history of Indian architecture. More than a thousand caves from about the second century B.C. to tenth century A.D. were excavated in different parts of India. Most of them are Buddhist; some are Hindu and Jain. Beautiful *chaityas* (worshipping halls), *viharas* (monasteries), *mandapas, rathas* and cave temples have been cut out of rocks. The stability and permanence of the rock attracted the patrons to encourage the building of enduring monuments and dedicate them for religious purposes. The rocks were turned into lovely shrines with pillared halls and living-rooms decorated with sculpture. This is an amazing evidence of

Gupta Temple, Deogarh

the extraordinary skill and patience of the craftsmen and mastery that they acquired over the hard rock.

The earliest rock-cut temples were excavated in western Deccan in the early years of the Christian era. The first monument of this period is the Chaitya at Karle. It has a fine hall with highly polished and decorated pillars and a vaulted roof.

The second phase of rock architecture produced some exquisite creations. The growing popularity of image worship in Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism stimulated building activities. The cave temples of Ajanta, Elephanta, Ellora, the *mandapas*, the *rathas* of Mahabalipuram, and the Kailasa temple at Ellora are some of the great achievements of this period. The size of these monuments, the infinite variety of themes from Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, the colossal images of the Buddha, the magnificent panels depicting all aspects of life — these strike us when we visit the caves of Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta. Some of the excellent sculptures in these caves were executed under the patronage of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas.

Budha Preaching, Sarnath

In the Elephanta caves we see the magnificent 'trimurti'. The very idea of a colossal image of three aspects of the godhead is grand. The excellence of the details is revealed if we study each of the faces carefully.

There are 27 caves in Ajanta. They contain the finest paintings of the ancient times in India. Some of the caves contain extraordinarily beautiful images of the Buddha, scenes from his life and from the *Jataka* stories.

At Ellora there are about 35 caves with fine sculptures. Some of the dramatic events from Hindu mythology captured the attention of the sculptors who have immortalized them. The greatest work here, the Kailasa temple, is a contribution of the Rashtrakutas. This temple, which has been hewn out of a massive rock, is an example of the daring resourcefulness and love of beauty of the sculptors of the time. The temple is elaborately adorned with figures and decorations. In all its details it is like a structural temple, but it is a gem of rock-cut architecture.

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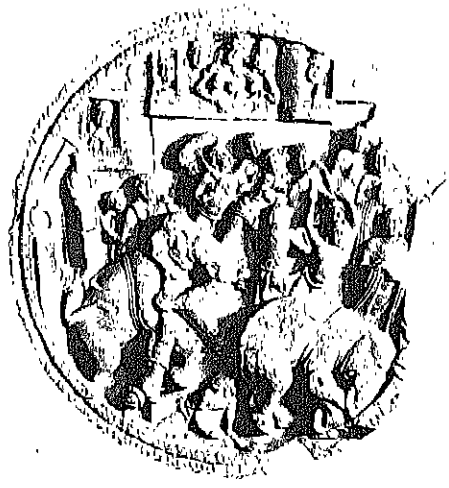

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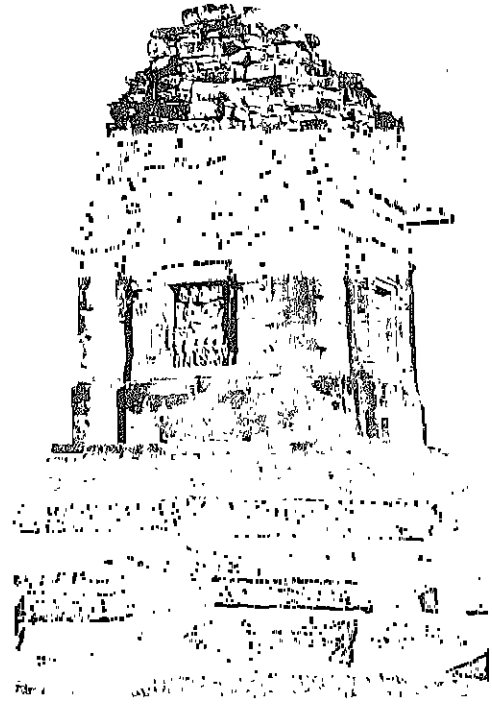

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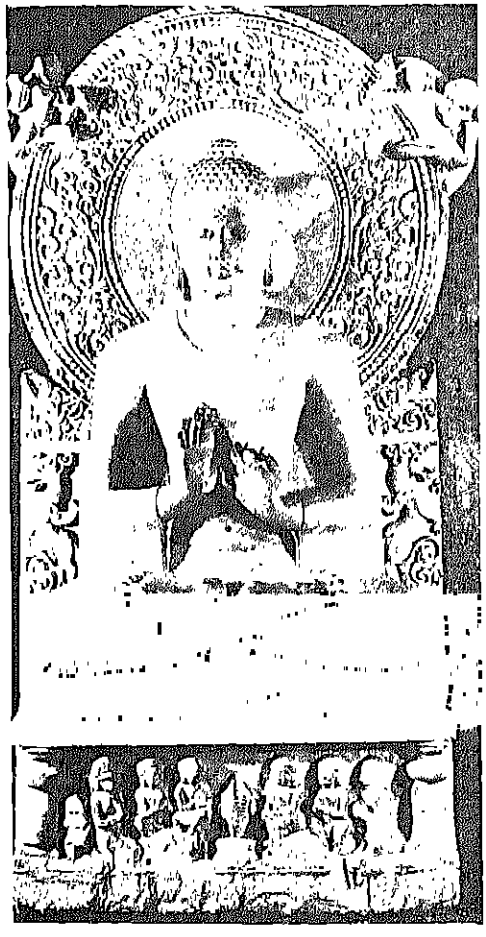

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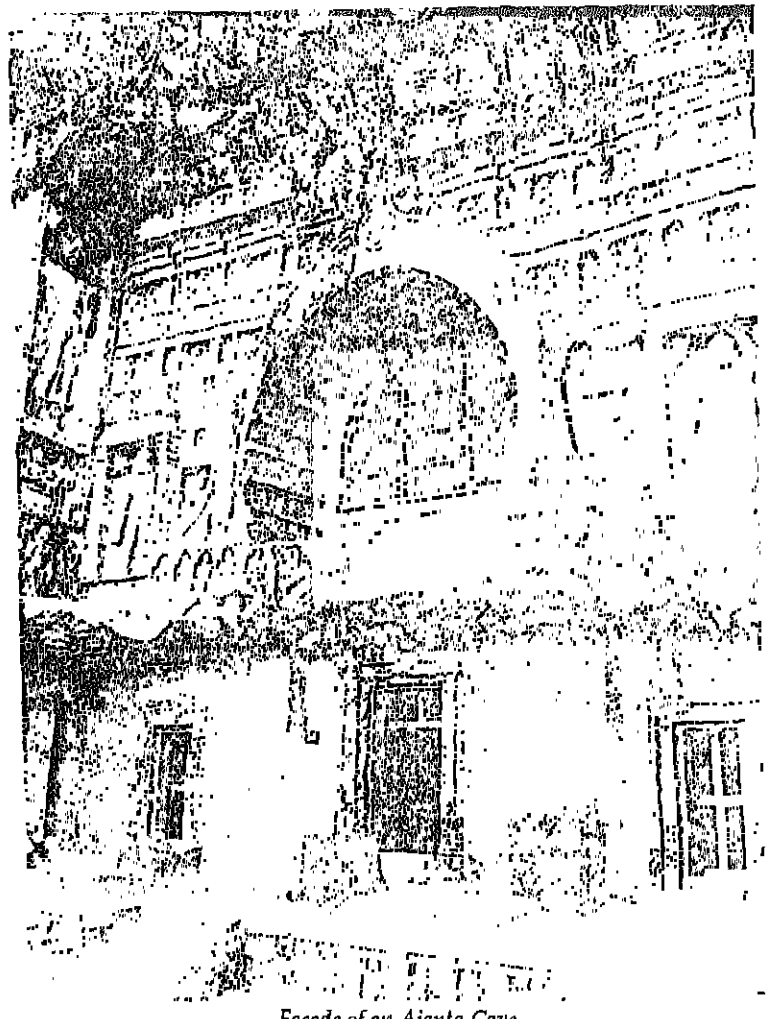


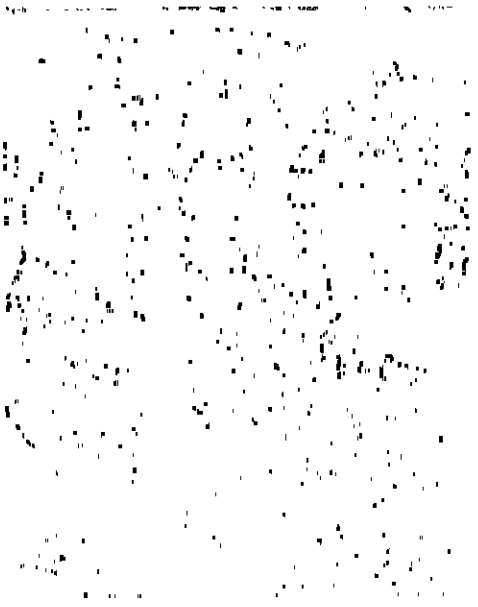
Facade of an Ajanta Cave

Pallavas of the Deccan and southern India added magnificent monuments, both caves and structural temples.

Both the rock-cut and structural monuments of the Pallavas are magnificent specimens of architecture. The Mandapas at Mahabalipuram are excavated halls with finely carved pillars and panels.

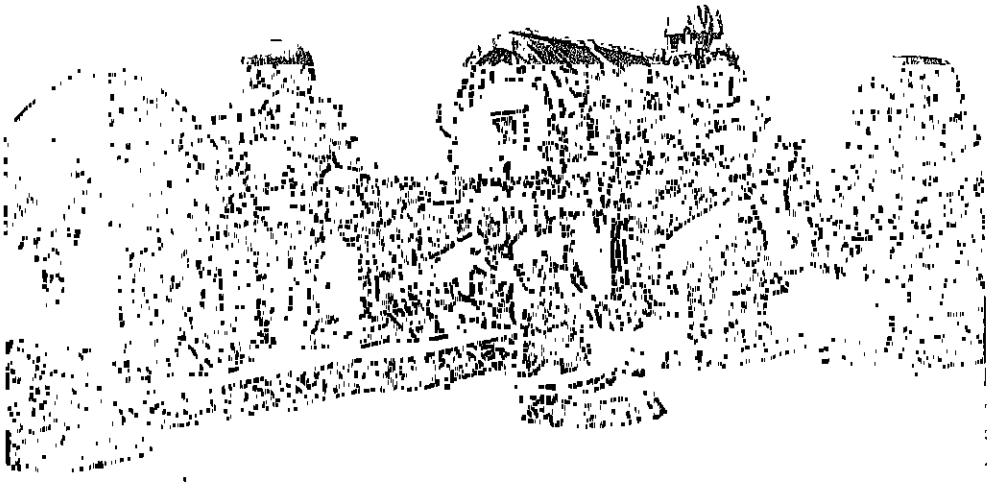
The splendid panel called the 'Descent of the Ganga' in Mahabalipuram is a unique rock-cut sculpture. The story of Bhagiratha's penance to bring down the Ganga is the theme of the panel.

The Rathas of Mahabalipuram are well known. The 'Ratha' is a shrine carved out of a single rock and it looks like a structural temple. These Rathas are named after the Pandavas. When you look at these Rathas,



Kailasa Temple, Ellora

Descent of the Ganga, Mahabalipuram



The Rathas, Mahabalipuram

you find that each one of them is different in shape and size.

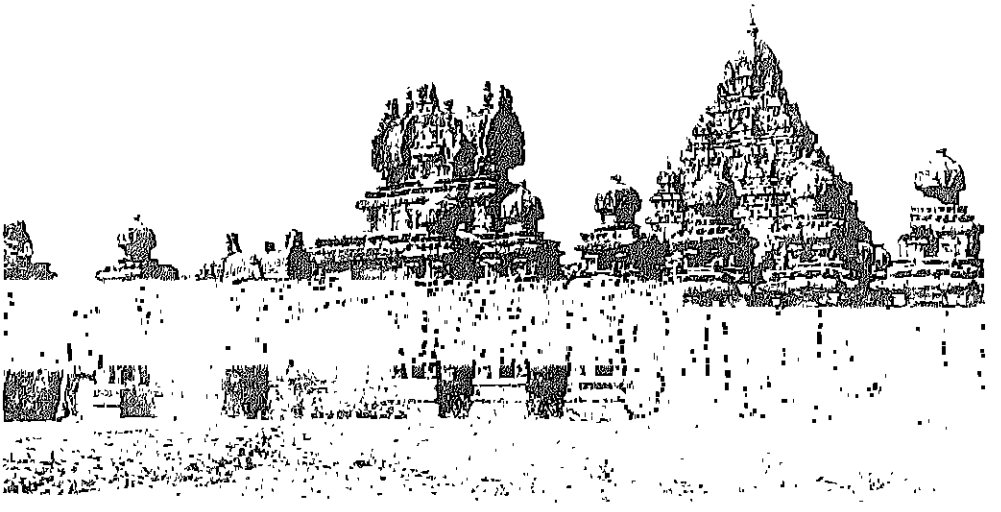
The Structural Temples

The Pallavas built a number of structural temples also. The most famous of these is the 'Shore temple' at Mahabalipuram. It is located on the sea shore and hence it has been called the 'Shore temple'. The twin towers of this temple set in a picturesque background, make it an enchanting sight on a moonlit night. Kanchipuram was the capital of the Pallavas and numerous temples were built there. Two of them stand out prominently. The Kailasanatha temple with its lovely *vimana* and the numerous panels depicting Shiva as Nataraja is a fine specimen of Pallava art. The Vaikunthaperumal temple is noted for its *vimana* and the series of panels depicting the history of the Pallava dynasty.

The Cholas with their capital at Thanjavur were great builders. The greatest temple of India, the Birhadeeshwara temple at Thanjavur, was built during the reign of Rajaraja Chola. The most striking feature of this temple is its *vimana*. It is about 65 metres high and is built in such a way that its shadow does not fall on the ground. The grace and grandeur of the *vimana* have not been excelled by any other such creation. The pillared halls and the sculptures are fine specimens of Chola art. In one of the halls, the various dance postures mentioned in Bharata's *Natyashastra* are shown in sculptures. In the walls of the inner shrine there are a number of fine paintings.

Many other famous temples were built in the south. The Pandya rulers encouraged the building of high outer walls with entrance gateways topped by *gopurams*. Attention was now concentrated on the *gopurams* rather than the *vimana* or the *shikhara* above the main shrine. The artistic glory of the *gopuram* became so popular that it became a special characteristic of south Indian temples. The *gopurams* of Kanchi and Madurai temples can be seen from long distances.

The Hoysala rulers of Mysore were great patrons of art. Magnificent temples were



Kailasanath Temple, Kanchipuram

built in Belur, Halebid and other places. These temples are noted for the profusion of manifold pillars with rich and intricate carvings. The delicately carved friezes, the minute details of the panels depicting gods and goddesses, are like the work of the jeweller rather than of the sculptor.

The Bronze Sculpture of the Cholas

Starting during the late Pallava period, the bronze sculpture reached heights of glory during the Chola rule. The image of Nataraja (the Lord of Dance) is a superb masterpiece of the Chola bronze sculpture. The grandeur of its conception, its symbolism, its artistic excellence and its charm have impressed connoisseurs throughout the world. There are many images of Nataraja in different dance poses. The bronze sculptures were one of the most significant contributions of the Cholas to Indian art.

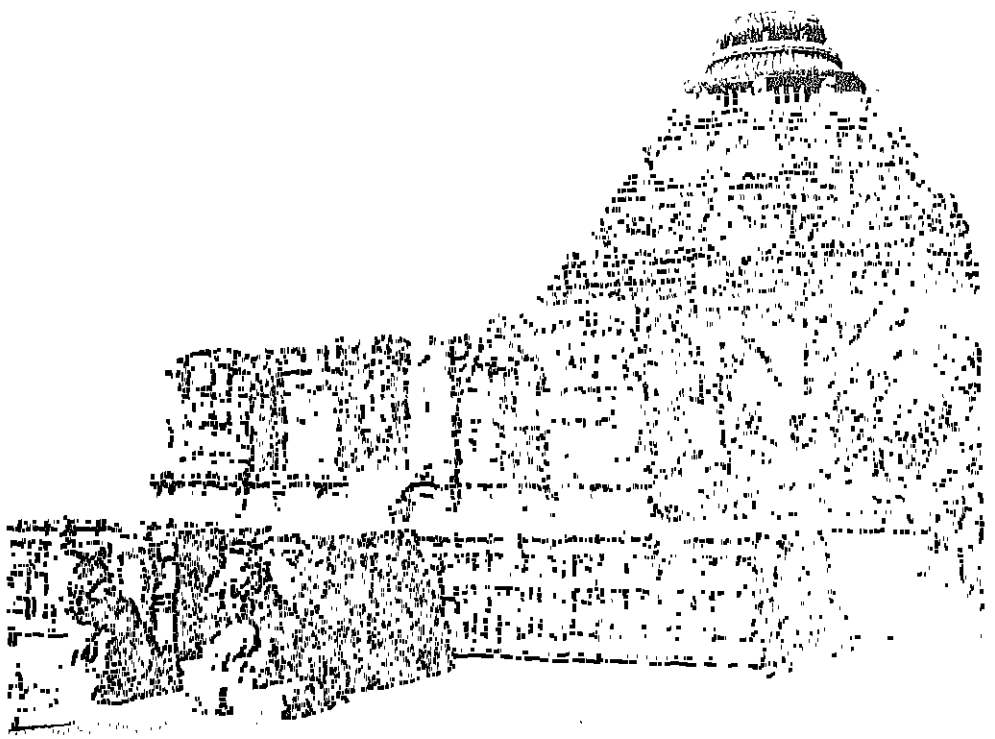
North Indian Temples

As in southern India, several styles of temple architecture developed in northern India.

Some of the most magnificent temples were built in Orissa. The Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneswar is located in an extensive area, with a number of subsidiary shrines. The spire of the Lingaraja temple is about 40 metres high and is very impressive. The immense spire is curved and has a rounded top. Though there are many similarities between these and the temples in the south, the differences in style are striking.

The sun temple in Konarak, popularly

Bronze Image of Nataraja



Sun Temple, Konarak

known as the 'black pagoda', perhaps because of the black stone used, is unique in design. Since it is dedicated to the sun god, the whole temple is designed as a chariot with twelve massive wheels drawn by seven horses. Each wheel with its rich carvings is a masterpiece. The human and animal figures carved out in black stone are most lifelike. The poses of dancing *apsaras* depicted in sculptures are studied by dancers even today and are brought alive by them in their performances. The theme of several of these sculptures is amorous.

The Chandella rulers of central India built the great temples of Khajuraho. The *shikhara* of these temples is graceful and refined and is adorned with sculptures. The style of the *shikhara* varies from that of the others. The sculptures in Konarak and Khajuraho are some of the finest in India. They are full of life and vitality.

The Jain temples at Mount Abu are the finest monuments of the Solanki kings of Gujarat who were great patrons of art. The prosperous trade brought in wealth that was used for building Hindu and Jain temples. The Abu temples are very attractive because of the delicate and intricate carvings in white marble.

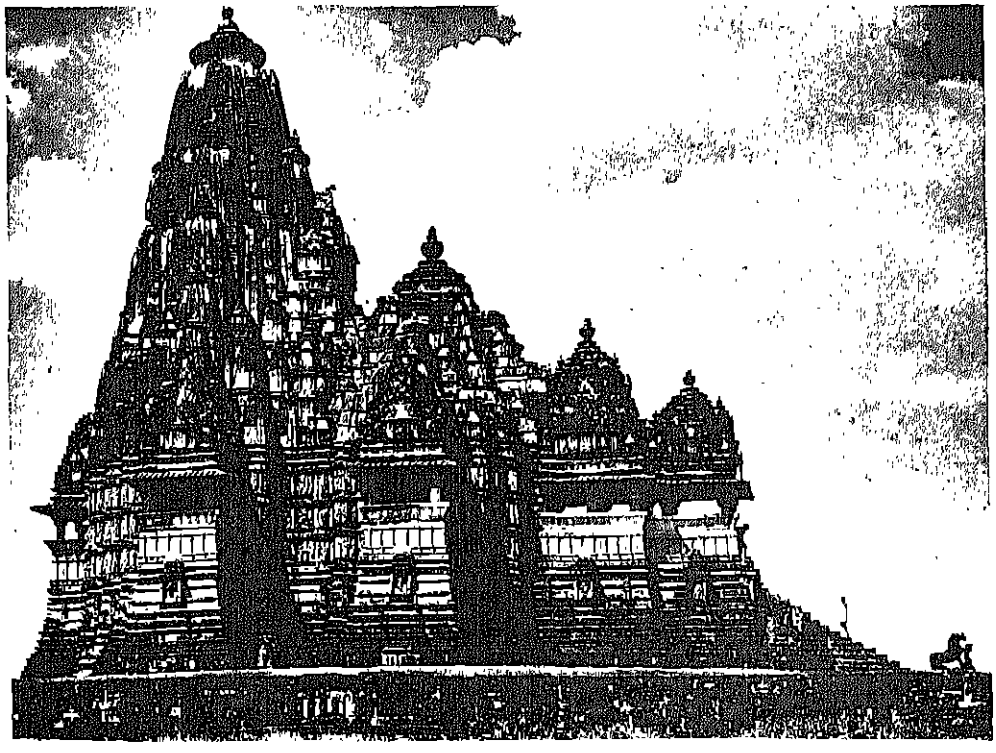
New Elements in Medieval Art and Architecture

The coming of the Turks inaugurated a new era in the history of Indian architecture, the turks brought with them architectural ideas

developed in Persia, Arabia and Central Asia. When these new rulers started erecting religious and secular buildings such as palaces and mosques, they came into contact with the traditions that had already been developed in India. The interaction of these two traditions resulted in a new synthesis of architectural styles. The rulers of the Sultanat were great patrons of architecture and under them the process of synthesis started. It continued with many regional variations in the different kingdoms. During the Mughal period, the flowering of this synthesis took place and some of the greatest monuments of India were built. Based on the interaction of the two traditions, a unique Indian style of architecture was developed in this period.

Before we describe this development, it may be useful to see the distinctive features of the Islamic architecture which were to play an important part in the development of a new style in Indian architecture.

These features are clearly seen in the standardized architecture of the mosque and the mausoleum. The mosque consisted of a large, rectangular open courtyard surrounded by arcades on all four sides. The *mehrab* which faces Mecca indicates the direction to the prayer. The call to worship was made from a tall tower or minaret. In some mosques there were many minarets. Another characteristic feature was the arch in the gateway and other places. The dome was another prominent feature of the mosque and the mausoleum.



Kandariya Mahadeo Temple, Khajuraho

The chief decorative element was sculpturing the building with geometrical designs and lettering in calligraphic style. Some of these features were new to Indian architecture. The ancient Indian buildings were decorated with beautiful carving and sculpture while the Muslim buildings were marked by simplicity and lack of adornment. When the new buildings began to be erected, the two styles were gradually synthesized into a new and unique style.

Architecture under the Sultanat

The Turkish rulers utilized the services of the local designers and craftsmen who were among the most skilful in the world. The new fusion that started to take place avoided the extreme simplicity of the Islamic architecture and the lavish decoration of the earlier Indian architecture.

Among the first buildings to be erected were the mosques at Delhi and Ajmer by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. The mosque built in Delhi was called the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. It measured about 70 x 30 metres. The central arch of this mosque which is decorated with beautiful sculptured calligraphy still stands and is about 17 metres high and about 7 metres wide.

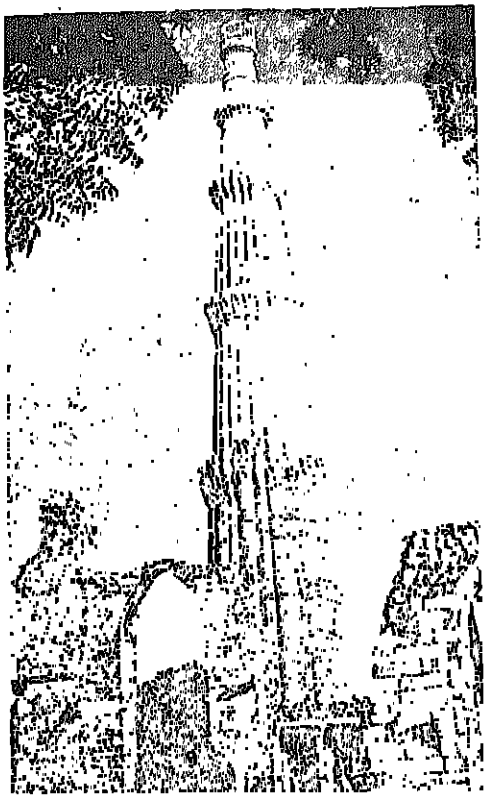
The successor of Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish, was a great builder. He further extended the mosque. He also completed the building of the Qutb Minar which had been started by Qutb-ud-din and now stood in the extended courtyard of the mosque. This is a tower rising to a height of about 70 metres and is one of the most renowned monuments of India.

The next important buildings belong to the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji. He enlarged the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque still further and built a gateway to the enclosure of the mosque, the Alai Darwaza. Decorative

One of the arches of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi. The Iron Pillar, belonging to the Gupta period, can be seen in the front

element was introduced to beautify the building. He also started building a *minar* which was designed to be double the height of Qutb Minar, but the project remained unfulfilled.

The Tughlaqs who came after the Khaljis concentrated on the building of new cities in Delhi like Tughlaqabad, Jahanpanah and Ferozabad. A number of buildings were erected which differed in their style from the earlier buildings. Massive and strong structures like the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and the walls of Tughlaqabad were built. The buildings of the Tughlaq period were significant from the point of view of the development of architecture. They were not beautiful but massive and very impressive.



Qutb Minar, Delhi

Architecture in the Regional Kingdoms

The regional kingdoms, building on the achievements of the previous period, developed their own distinctive styles of architecture. The process of synthesis continued in these kingdoms also and resulted in the construction of some of the finest buildings in India.

In Bengal were built the Adina mosque and the tomb of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah at Pandua and the Dakhil Darwaza and Tantipara mosque at Gaur. The oblong shape of many structures and the peculiar style of roof constructions were some of the distinctive features of the regional architecture of Bengal.

In Jaunpur, the Sharqi kings built an impressive monument, the Atala mosque. A huge massive screen covers the dome. The walls and the ceilings are decorated with many ancient Indian designs like the lotus.

The rulers of Gujarat built many structures notable for their grandeur and the excellence of their carving and other decorative forms. Ahmad Shah, the founder of Ahmedabad, built the Tin Darwaza and the Jami Masjid. The finest building in Ahmedabad is the Sadi Saiyyid mosque popularly known as the Jaliwali Masjid. The delicacy of the work is evident from the screens. Mahmud Begarha built the imposing Jama Masjid at Champaner.

The buildings at Mandu developed a distinctive style of their own under the Sultans of Malwa. Here were built the Jama Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal and a number of tombs. The buildings of Malwa have wide and imposing arches and the windows are gracefully decorated. The tomb of Hoshang Shah is made entirely of marble, the first of its kind in India, and is delicately decorated with yellow and black marble inlay work.

The rulers of Kashmir also built many beautiful buildings. Timber, stone and brick were used in the Jama Masjid completed by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. The turret is a striking feature of the mosques of Kashmir and recalls to mind the Buddhist *pagodas*. The tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin's mother, built entirely of brick and glazed tiles, has been designed in the Persian style.

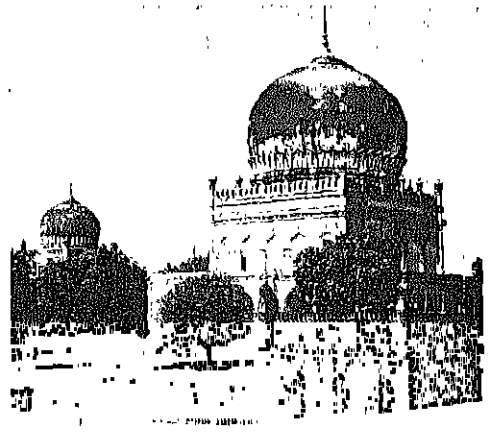
The Bahmani Sultans in the Deccan erected a number of buildings in a distinctive style at Bidar and Gulbarga. They borrowed from the styles of Persia, Syria, Turkey and those of the temples of southern India. The Jama Masjid in Gulbarga is

quite well known. The courtyard of this mosque is covered with a large number of domes. It is the only mosque in India which has a covered courtyard. Instead of minarets, there are domes at the four corners and a fifth and bigger one above the prayer chamber. The absence of decorative work does not mar its grandeur. There are two groups of tombs. The first group has the tombs of the first two Sultans and shows the impress of the Tughlaq architecture. The second group called the *haft gumbad* or 'seven tombs' shows the influence of Persian and ancient Indian styles. Bidar also has a number of tombs. The tomb of Sultan Ahmad Shah Ali is richly decorated with beautiful paintings. The finest monument at Bidar is the *madrasa* of Mahmud Gavan, the great minister of the Bahmani kingdom for many years. It is a three-storeyed building and has two towering *minars* at the front corners.

After the Bahmani kingdom was split up, many other buildings, such as the Mehtar Mahal and the Ibrahim Rauza, were erected in the new principalities. The Gol Gumbaz, which is one of the largest domes in the world, at Bijapur, and the fort of Golconda, which is one of the strongest in India, and many tombs in Golconda also belong to this period.

These regional kingdoms, in the north and the south, played a significant role in the development of a common culture.

The Vijayanagar kingdom in the south which arose in the fourteenth century and was destroyed in A.D.1565 also had a number of achievements in architecture to its credit. Only the ruins remain to tell the story of their past magnificence. The best examples of the Vijayanagar architecture were the Vithalswami and Hazar Rama temples at Hampi. The former has three *gopurams* and a number of highly decorated pillars. The pillars of the latter were richly carved as were the inner walls and depicted scenes from the *Ramayana*.

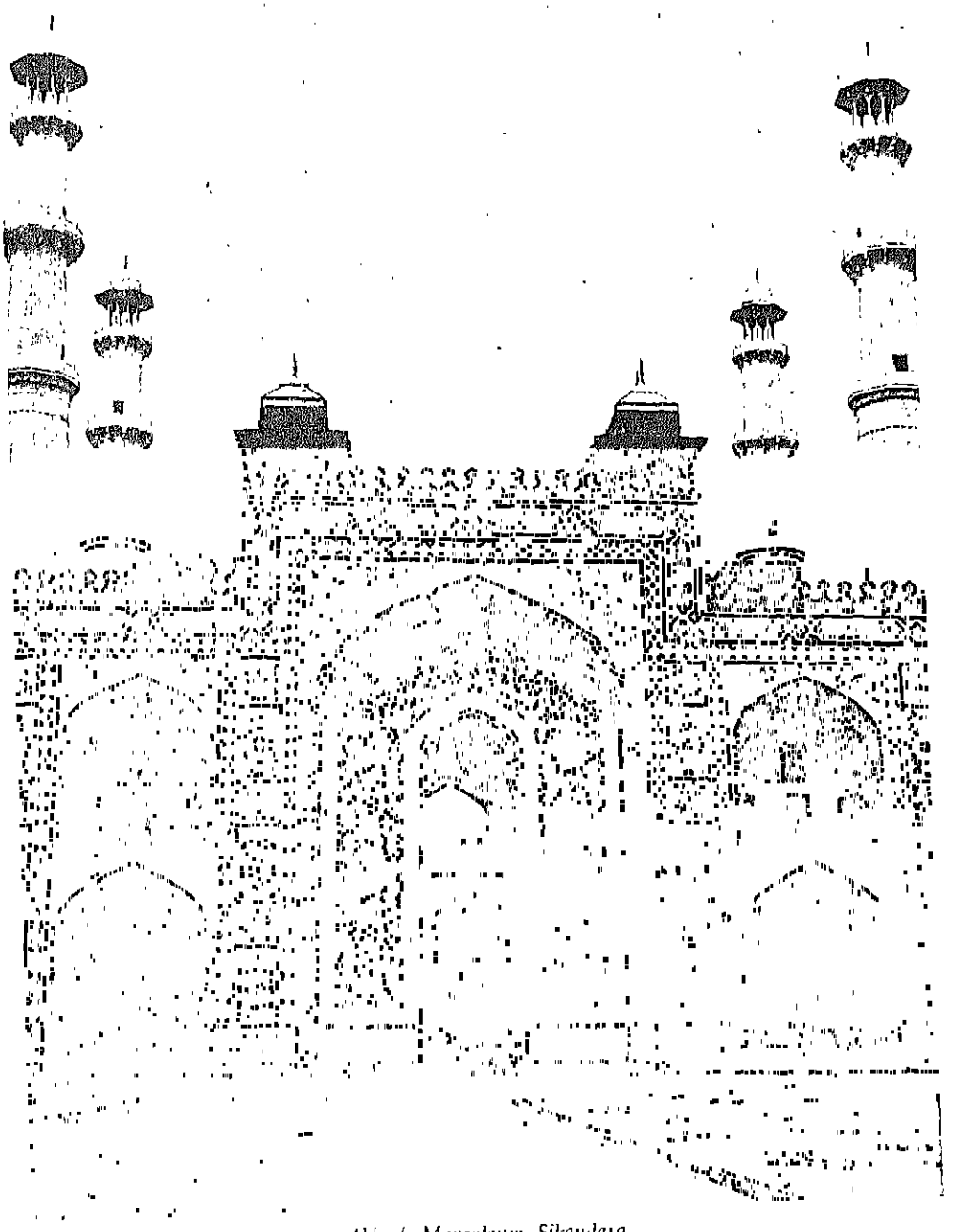


Tomb at Golconda

The Mughal Architecture

The process of synthesis was completed under the Mughals and the new architecture which had started taking shape with the establishment of the Sultanat reached the pinnacle of glory. The achievements of the Mughal period are the finest in architecture as well as in other fields of culture and can be very well compared with any preceding age in Indian history.

Babur and Humayun, the first two Mughal kings, erected a number of buildings with the help of Persian architects and these, now in ruins, are not very impressive. Humayun had to flee the country in the face of the rising power of the Afghan ruler, Sher Shah Suri. There was a short interregnum of Afghan rule before Humayun recovered the Indian territories for the Mughals. The most important build-



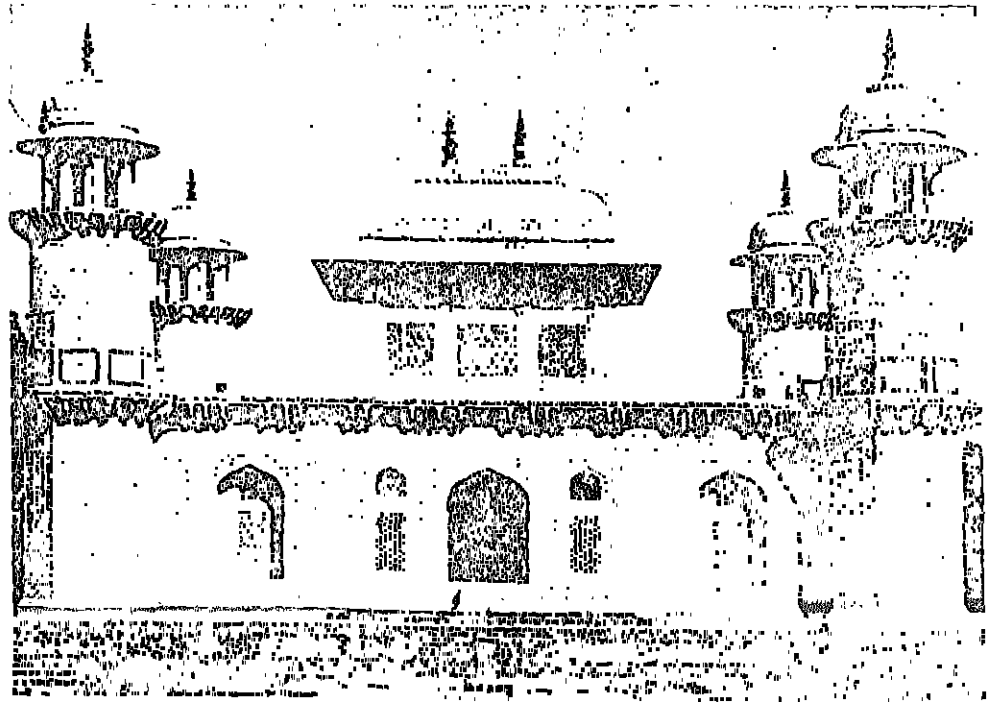
Akbar's Mausoleum, Sikandara

ing erected during the Afghan interregnum is the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram. The mausoleum is a well-proportioned building and stands in the middle of a tank.

The Mughal architecture, properly speaking, began in the reign of Akbar. The first important building of Akbar's reign is Humayun's tomb at Delhi. In this magnificent tomb, the Persian influence is very strong, particularly in the construction of the dome. However, unlike the Persians' use of bricks and glazed tiles, the Indian builders of the tomb used stone and marble. The two significant features of the Mughal architecture are also evident here — the large gateways and the placement of the building in the midst of a large park. The tomb provided many architectural ideas for the building of the Taj Mahal later.

The next important buildings erected under Akbar were the forts at Agra and Lahore. He built his palace within the Agra fort. Many new buildings were constructed in the fort and perhaps the old ones altered by Akbar's successors. However, the parts attributed to Akbar's reign were built under the strong influence of the ancient Indian style and have courtyards and pillars. For the first time in the architecture of this style, living beings —elephants, lions, peacocks and other birds — were sculptured in the brackets.

The crowning achievement of the reign of Akbar was the building of his new capi-



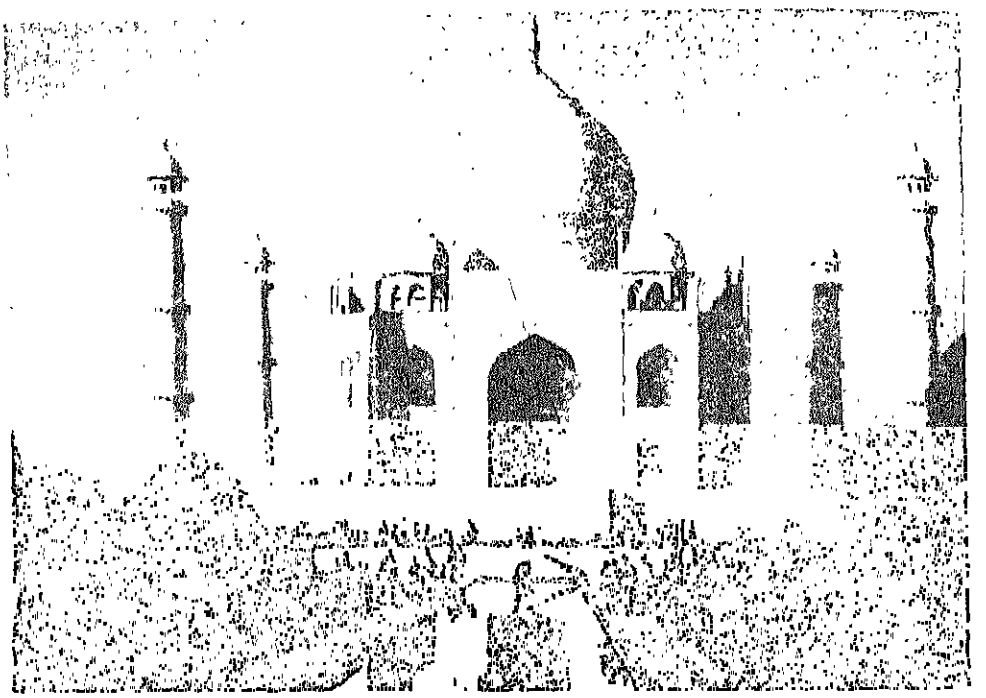
Tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, Agra

tal at Fatehpur Sikri, about 40 kilometres from Agra. The buildings at Fatehpur Sikri have been built in a variety of styles making it one of the most magnificent capitals in the world. It had a circumference of over 10 kilometres. Even now there exist a number of magnificent structures in Fatehpur Sikri. The arch of the Buland Darwaza is about 41 metres high and is perhaps the most imposing gateway in the world. The tomb of Salim Chishti built in white marble is exquisite in its beauty. The building popularly known as the palace of Jodha Bai was built in the style of ancient Indian architecture. The Jami Masjid shows the influence of the Persian style. The cloisters surrounding it have a large number of domes and rooms. The Diwan-i-aam and the Diwan-i-khas are remarkable buildings and their planning and decoration have a unique Indian style. Birbal's house is profusely sculptured with beautiful patterns. Another notable building is the Ibadat-Khana or the 'House of Worship' where learned people belonging to various religions gathered together and discussed questions of philosophy and theology in the presence of the emperor. Then there is the Panch Mahal, a five-storeyed building modelled perhaps on the Buddhist *viharas*.

During the reign of Jahangir, the mausoleum of Akbar was constructed at Sikandara. This is a magnificent monument in many ways. After a long time, the *minar* became architecturally significant here. It has beautiful arches and domes. But the whole structure, as Ferguson suggested, is inspired by the Buddhist *viharas*. Jahangir also extended the palace buildings in the Agra fort and built the beautiful tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, the father of Nur Jahan. The tomb was built in marble and is notable for its beautiful coloured inlay work. Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan built a beautiful mausoleum for her husband at Shahdara near Lahore.

The greatest of the Mughal builders was Shah Jahan, the successor of Jahangir. His reign marks the highest development of Mughal architecture. Some of the finest monuments of our country were built during his reign. Under him we find an exceedingly liberal use of marble, delicate decorative designs, a variety of arches and beautiful minarets. The list of Shah Jahan's buildings is very large—the completion of a large number of buildings in the Agra fort, the city of Shahjahanabad and the Red Fort of Delhi with its many buildings, the Jama Masjid at Delhi, the Taj Mahal and many others. Only a brief description of these buildings is possible here. The Diwan-

Entrance Gate, Agra Fort

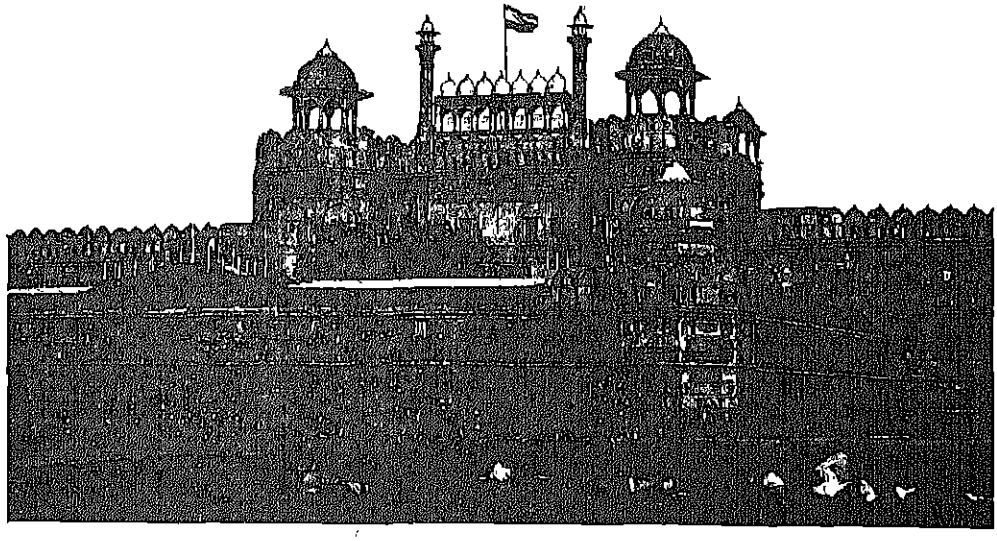


Taj Mahal, Agra

i-aam and the Moti Masjid in the Agra fort are built mainly in white marble with beautiful coloured inlay work. The Diwan-i-khas and the Diwan-i-aam in the Red Fort are richly decorated and are works of great beauty. The Diwan-i-khas rightly bears the inscription: *Agar firdaus bar rooe zaminast— haminasto haminasto haminast* (if there is a paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here). The Red Fort has become associated with the history of our country during the past 350 years and it is here that the national flag was unfurled on the day after India became free. The Jama' Masjid at Delhi with its imposing domes and minarets is the most famous mosque in the country and one of the finest in the world.

The most magnificent of Shah Jahan's buildings is the Taj Mahal built in memory of his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. It represents India's culture at its best and has been aptly described as 'the dream in marble'. It is remarkably well conceived and all its parts — the gateways, the central dome, the elegant *minars*, the delicate decoration, the inlay work in coloured marbles and precious stones, the lovely gardens surrounding it and the fountains in front—have been perfectly executed.

The only notable buildings of the reign of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughals, are the Badshahi mosque at Lahore and the



Red Fort, Delhi

Moti Masjid at Delhi. The period after him is one of general decline.

A significant contribution of the Mughals, especially Jahangir, was the laying of gardens. Some of the finest gardens were laid by him in Lahore and Srinagar.

The new style of architecture had a significant influence on the construction of Hindu temples and the secular buildings of the Rajputs during this period.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN INDIA

As in architecture, the cultural heritage of India in the field of painting is very rich. The first and the most creative period of the art of painting extends from the first to the seventh centuries of the Christian era. Of this the richest heritage is that of the Ajanta paintings. Many murals which once decorated the walls of the Ajanta caves have disappeared due to neglect and the ravages of time.

The paintings of Ajanta depict various themes. There are those which depict the pomp and splendour of the royal courts and the romance of love and the joy of feasting, singing and dancing and the man-made world with luxurious products, buildings, textiles and jewellery. Some depict the world of nature —vegetation and flowers, animals and birds. Many themes depicted are from the Buddha's life and the *jataka* stories. All the scenes depicted are full of vitality. The figures are drawn with admirable skill. The intense human appeal gives the message of the unity of life depicted through the panorama of all forms of life. Every form receives the equal attention of the artists and the various worlds of

painting combine to give a fuller picture of real life. The medium through which this is done is the line. In the West what is achieved with colour is achieved with line in India. The line used by the Ajanta artists is unique, sweeping over vast areas with firmness and rhythm. It can accomplish with equal skill the calm and serene Buddha and the restless eager crowds in a dance or a market-place. This style in ancient times spread to Central Asia and is evident in wall paintings and in paintings on wooden panels.

In northern India, the frescoes at Bagh are the best survivals, most of the others

Boddhisattva — Ajanta Painting

having been lost to us. The tradition of painting continued for some time in other parts of India, e.g. at Badami, Kanchi and Ellora. It later spread to Sri Lanka where the beautiful frescoes at Sigriya seem to be directly related to the traditions of Ajanta.

Gradually the art of wall painting died, though the art of book-illumination continued, particularly in Jain texts.

The next great era in the art of painting was ushered in by the Mughals. The Mughals brought with them the traditions of Persian painting. Humayun brought with him to India two pupils of the great painter Behzad. They came into contact with their counterparts in India and under Akbar the synthesis of the two styles was encouraged. He gathered together a number of painters from Persia, Kashmir and Gujarat. The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions a number of artists — Abdus Samad, Mir Saiyid Ali, Miskin, Daswant, Basawan, Mukand and many others. They illustrated manuscripts like the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* and

Palace Scene — Ajanta Painting

Babar Nama. Individual pieces were also painted. By the end of Akbar's reign, an independent Mughal style of painting had been developed.

Jahangir himself was a great connoisseur and patron of painting. Under him the Mughal school of painting was fully developed and made remarkable progress. The painting was no longer confined to book-illumination. Portrait painting and depiction of subjects drawn from life and nature became popular. Some of the finest painters in this period were Nadir, Murad, Bishan Das, Manohar, Govardhan, Mansur and Farrukh Beg. Writing about his own knowledge of painting in his autobiography, Jahangir says that he could distinguish between the work of each noted painter even if a painting was the product of joint work. The competence and skill of the Indian artists are evident from the incident which Sir Thomas Roe, who came to the court of Jahangir, mentions. The artists of Jahangir's court made several copies of a painting which Roe had presented to the emperor on the same day. The copies were so perfect that Roe found it difficult to spot the original.

Thus in the course of a few decades, fine works of painting were created. The development continued under Shah Jahan. Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan, was a great patron of painting. With Aurangzeb, the art declined in the Mughal courts.

With the withdrawal of court patronage many artists went to different parts of the country and influenced the development of new schools of painting. Two of the most important schools of painting that thus emerged were the Rajasthani and the Pahari schools. The subjects of the paintings of these schools were drawn from the epics, myths and legends and love themes.

LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

India's heritage in languages and literature is one of the richest in the world. Through the many centuries of India's history, many languages have grown and have influenced one another. Some of the languages that were spoken in India in ancient times and had a rich literature have become extinct; others remain important. For example, Sanskrit, though no longer a spoken language, is still a language of many religious rituals and of literature. However, the old languages have left their mark on the languages which we speak today and which began to develop towards the close of the ancient period. These languages have bequeathed a very rich literature to us.

Languages

Besides many small groups, there are two main groups of languages — the Indo-European or Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian. Most of the languages spoken in the northern parts of India belong to the former group and those of the southern parts to the latter. However, these two groups have not developed in isolation from each other.

You have read about the Harappan script which has not yet been deciphered. We also do not know what language the Harappans spoke. Sanskrit was the language of the Indo-Aryans who came to India and belongs to the Indo-European group of languages. Sanskrit was gradually standardized and given a highly scientific grammar by Panini, the great grammarian, in about fourth century B.C. Sanskrit was the language of religion, philosophy and learning and was used by the upper castes, the brahmanas and the kshatriyas. The common people spoke a number of dialects which are called Prakrits. Buddha, as you already know, preached in

the language of the people. Buddhist literature was written in Pali, one of the Prakrits. Ashoka had his rock and pillar edicts inscribed in the popular languages.

Among the Dravidian languages Tamil is the most ancient. The others developed during the first milennium of the Christian era.

Though Sanskrit again became the predominant language of learning in the period of the Guptas, the Prakrits continued to develop. The various spoken languages that developed are called *Apabhramshas*. These formed the basis of the modern Indian languages which developed in the various regions of India during the medieval period.

During the period of the Turks and the Mughals, as you have read before, two new languages —Arabic and Persian —entered India. Of these Persian is more important. It was the court language for hundreds of years and continued to be used widely right up to the nineteenth century. A rich tradition of Persian literature grew in India during this period and led to the growth of a new language — Urdu—based on the dialects of Hindi and drawing much of its vocabulary from Persian. It became the common language of towns all over northern India and the Deccan and developed a very rich literature in poetry and prose.

Throughout the course of the development of Indian languages, various foreign languages have played a significant part and helped Indian languages to enrich their vocabulary. This happened as a result of close contacts with the cultures of many peoples outside India.

Thus the languages that we speak today have a long history behind them. There are eighteen languages which have been mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. In addition to these, hundreds of other languages are spoken by people in various parts of the country. This variety of languages has made India a multilingual country. The languages spoken today have grown over a period of centuries and have influenced and enriched one another.

Ancient Indian Literature

The earliest known work of the Aryans in India was the *Rig Veda* which is a collection of 1028 hymns in Vedic Sanskrit. Most of the hymns are in praise of different Vedic deities and were intended for recitation at the *Yajnas* or sacrifices. Many of them are beautiful descriptions of nature. Some of the most enchanting are addressed to *Ushas*, the goddess of dawn, like this one:

> In the sky's framework she has gleamed with brightness: The goddess has cast off the robe of darkness. Rousing the world from sleep, with ruddy horses, Dawn in her well-yoked chariot is arriving (*Rig Veda*, i, 1.113)

The *Rig Veda* was followed by three more Vedas — *Yajur Veda* which gives directions for the performance of the *Yajna*, the *Sama Veda* which prescribes the tunes for the recitation of the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, and the *Atharva Veda* which prescribes rites and rituals. After the four Vedas, a number of works, called the *Brahmanas*, grew which contained detailed explanation of Vedic literature and instructions. The *Aranyakas*, which are an appendix to the *Brahmanas*, prescribed certain rites and also laid the basis of a body of more philosophical literature. It was the Upanishadic literature which dealt with questions like the origin of the universe, birth and death, the material and spiritual world, nature of knowledge and many other questions. The earliest Upanishads are the

Brihad-Aranyaka and *Chanddogya*. The Upanishads are in the form of dialogues and express the highest thoughts in simple and beautiful imagery. Another body of literature to grow in the early period was the Vedangas which, besides rituals, were concerned with astronomy, grammar and phonetics: One of the most outstanding works of this period was a classic on Sanskrit grammar, the *Ashtadhyayi* by Panini.

All these works were in Sanskrit. They were handed down from generation to generation orally and were put to writing much later.

The two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, were developed over a period of centuries and were perhaps put to writing in their present form in the second century A.D. The *Mahabharata* contains about 100,000 verses and is the longest single poem in the world. Besides the main story of the war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, a number of other interesting stories are woven into this epic. The *Bhagvad Gita*, a later addition to the *Mahabharata*, enshrines a philosophical doctrine and in it are described the three paths to salvation, viz: *Karma*, *Gyan* and *Bhakti*. The *Ramayana*, the story of Rama, is shorter than the *Mahabharata* and is full of interesting adventures and episodes. These two epics have influenced the thinking of millions of people for centuries.

This period abounds in both religious and secular literature in Sanskrit. The *Puranas* are important, for they were the main influence in the development from early Vedic religion to Hinduism. There were many other *shastras* and *smritis*. The *shastras* contained works of science and philosophy. For example, the *Arthashastra* by Kautilya was a treatise on the science of governance. There were *shastras* on art, mathematics and other sciences. The *smritis* dealt with the performance of duties, customs and laws prescribed according to *dharma*. The most famous of these is the *Manusmriti*.

The early Buddhist literature was in Pali and consists of two sections. The *Sutta-pitaka* consists mainly of dialogues between the Buddha and his followers. The *Vinaya-pitaka* is concerned mainly with the rules of the organization of the monasteries. The *Milinda-panha* is another great Buddhist work consisting of dialogues between the Indo-Greek king Menander and the Buddhist philosopher Nagasena. Another great Buddhist work consists of hundreds of *Jataka* stories which became the subjects of Buddhist sculpture and are popular all over the world for their wisdom. Later many Buddhist works were written in Sanskrit. Of these the most famous is the *Buddhacharita* or 'Life of Buddha' by Ashvaghosha.

The period beginning a little before the reign of the Guptas ushered in the glorious period of Sanskrit literature, particularly secular. This was the greatest period for the growth of poetry and drama. The great writers of this period are well known-Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bharavi, Bhartrihari, Bana, Magha and many others. Of these, Kalidasa is known all over the world. His works — the *Kumarasambhava*, the *Raghuvamsha*, the *Meghaduta*, the *Abhijnanashakuntalam* and others — are unrivalled for their poetry and style. Bana wrote the *Harshacharita*, a biography of King Harsha, and *Kadambari*. Among the other famous works of the period are Bhavabhuti's *Utter-Ramacharita*, Bharavi's *Kirtarjuniya*, Vishakhadatta's *Mudra Rakshasa*, Shudraka's *Mricchakatika*. Dandin wrote the *Daskumaracharita* or the

'tales of the Ten Princes'. The subjects of these and other works were political events, romances, allegories, comedies and philosophical questions. Besides these, there was also a growing body of philosophical literature. The most famous of these in the later period are the great commentaries of Shankaracharya. There were also great collections of tales and stories. The most famous collections are the *Panchatantra* and the *Kathasarit-sagar* which have been translated into many languages all over the world.

The four Dravidian languages —Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam —developed their own distinct scripts and literature. Tamil is the oldest of these with its literature going back to the early centuries of the Christian era. According to tradition, three literary gatherings or *Sangams* were held at which many sages and poets recited their compositions. This body of literature consists of many themes like politics, war and love. The famous works of this body of literature include the *Ettutogai* ('Eight Anthologies'), the *Tolkappiyam* (a work of Tamil grammar) and the *Pattuppattu* ('The Ten Songs'). Thiruvalluvar wrote the famous *Kural* which, in verse, deals with many aspects of life and religion. The *Silappadikaram* and the *Manimekalai* are some of the other most famous works of early Tamil literature

Literature in the Medieval Period

In the early medieval period in northern India, Sanskrit continued to be the language of literature. This is the period of the works of two writers in Kashmir— Somadeva's *Katha-sarit-sagar* which we have already mentioned and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. The latter, a history of Kashmir, is a work of great importance as this is the first proper historical work in India. Another famous work of this period is the *Gitagovinda* by Jayadeva, which is one of the finest poems in Sanskrit literature. As we have said before, this was the period when the *Apabhramsha* languages had started developing into modern Indian languages. One of the earliest works in an early form of Hindi was *Prithviraj Raso* by Chandbardai. This work which marks the beginning of bardic literature deals with the heroic deeds of Prithviraj Chauhan.

In the southern parts, this period saw the flourishing of Sanskrit literature. We have already mentioned the philosophical commentaries of Shankara. Another important Sanskrit work of this period is Bilhana's *Vikramankadeva-charita*, a biography of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI. However, this period is more important for the growth of literature in the Dravidian languages. Nripatunga wrote a great work of poetry in Kannada called the *Kavirajamarga*. For a few centuries, the Kannada literature was deeply influenced by Jainism. Pampa wrote the *Adipurana* and the *Vikramarjuna-Vijaya*, the former dealing with the life of the first Jain *tirthankara* and the latter based on the *Mahabharata*. Ponna wrote the *Shantipurana*, a legendary history of the sixteenth *tirthankara*. Another great Kannada writer was Ranna, a contemporary of Pampa and Ponna. Two of his famous works are the *Ajitapurana* and the *Gadayuddha*. Pampa, Ponna and Ranna are known as the Three Gems of the early Kannada literature. Kamban wrote the *Ramayanam* in Tamil. In Tamil, this was the period of the composition of the great hymns of the Alvars and the Nayanars. The hymns of the Alvars are collected into the *Nalayira-Divya Prabandham*. Some of the Nayanar works

are the *Thiruvasagam*, the *Thirumanairam* and the *Thiruttondattogai*. Telugu also produced great religious and secular literature in this period. This included translations of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, works of grammar, science and other secular literature. Literature in Malayalam also started growing.

The period of the Sultanat of Delhi saw a great advance in the growth of modern Indian languages and literature. *Braj Bhasha* and *Khari Boli*, forms of Hindi, began to be used in literary compositions. Many devotional songs were composed in these languages. Heroic literature was written in Rajasthani, which was akin to Hindi and Gujarati. The famous ballad *Alha Udal* and the *Vishaldeo Raso* belong to this period. The literature in other modern Indian languages was also growing. Mulla Daud wrote perhaps the oldest poem in Awadhi language called *Chandayana*. Commentaries on ancient scriptures, however, continued to be written in Sanskrit.

Persian was the court language of the Sultanat. Because of its literature many Persian words became part of the vocabulary of Indian languages. A very notable contribution of the Turks was in the field of historical literature in Persian. In ancient India, there was no tradition of historical writing. The Turks introduced the Arab and Persian traditions of historical writing in India and with them we get a fairly systematic account of Indian history beginning with the Sultanat of Delhi. There were many historians in this period. Ziauddin Barani wrote the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* which gives a detailed account of the reigns of the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs. He also wrote a work on political theory called the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*. Perhaps the most outstanding literary figure of this period was Amir Khusrau. He was a poet, historian, mystic and composer of music. He was also a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya. He wrote the *Ashiqa*, the *Nuh Sipihr*, the *Qiranal-Sadayan*, the *Khazain-ul-Futuh* and several works of poetry. He symbolizes the composite culture which was growing under the new impact. He took great pride in his being an Indian and praised India as the 'Earthly Paradise'. He praised India's fauna and flora, its beauty, its buildings, its knowledge and learning. He believed that in many respects the essence of Hinduism resembled Islam. He considered *Hindawi*, the Hindi spoken around the region of Delhi, his mother tongue and composed many verses in it. He composed a number of bilingual quatrains and verses in Hindi and Persian. The healthy tradition started by him continued for centuries after him.

The regional kingdoms provided a great stimulus to regional languages and literature. The Sultans of Bengal, Gujarat and other states patronized local languages and literature. Bhakti saints preached in the language of the people. Many of them like Kabir were great poets. There were two main forms of Hindi in this period– Bhojpuri and Awadhi. Kabir wrote in Bhojpuri and his *dohas* or couplets have become a part of the folklore. Malik Muhammad Jayasi wrote the *Padmavat* in Awadhi. The famous *Ramacharitamanas* by Tulsidas was also written in Awadhi in this period. There were many other poets of Awadhi in this period. For example, Qutban, a disciple of the Sufi saint Shaikh Burhan, wrote the *Mrigavati*.

Literature in other languages also developed in this period. In Bengali the *Ramayana* by Krittivasa and the hundreds of lyrics by the famous poet Chandidas were written under the patronage of the

rulers. With Chaitanya, the tradition of writing devotional songs began. Narasi Mehta wrote devotional songs in Gujarati and Namdev and Eknath in Marathi. There were important developments in Kashmir under Zainul Abidin, under whose patronage many Sanskrit works like the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajataringini* were translated into Persian.

Under the Vijayanagar kingdom, Sanskrit literature continued to grow. However, this was an important period for the growth of Telugu literature. Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest of Vijayanagar rulers, was also a Telugu and Sanskrit writer. He wrote the *Vishnuchittiya*. There were many poets in his court, the most famous of whom was Allasani Peddana who wrote the *Manucharita*. Dhurjati wrote the *Kalahasti Mahatamya*.

As in art and architecture the Mughal period also saw great developments in literature. Many Mughal emperors and members of the royal family were great men of letters. Babar, the first Mughal ruler, was one of the pioneers of Turkish poetry and also the author of a very valuable autobiography in Turkish, *Babar Nama*, which was later translated into Persian. Gulbadan Begum, sister of Humayun, wrote the *Humayun Nama*. Jahangir, the great connoisseur of painting, wrote his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Aurangzeb also was a prolific writer and the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah 'Zafar' was a notable Urdu poet.

Hindi literature made significant progress during Akbar's reign. Tulsidas, who has already been mentioned, and the famous saint Surdas wrote in this period. Keshavdas, a great poet, wrote on themes of love. Rahim's *dohas* or couplets are extremely popular in many parts of the country. It was also in Akbar's time that the great Sanskrit work on styles of writing, the *Alankarashekhara* by Keshava Misra, appeared.

This was a period of many notable writings in the Persian language. Abul Fazl wrote the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar Nama*. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives details of Indian customs and manners, religions and philosophy, economic conditions and almost every other aspect of life. As a historical work, it is perhaps unparalleled. Abul Fazl's brother Faizi was a great poet of Persian and was responsible for the translation of many Sanskrit works into Persian. Akbar had started a whole department for translation of works like the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* the *Atharva-Veda*, the *Bhagvad Gita* and the *Panchatantra*.

Many important historical works were produced under the emperors after Akbar. Some of the most important historians of this period were Abdul Hamid Lahori, Khafi Khan, Muhammad Kazim and Sujan Rai Bhandari. Literature in modern Indian languages also continued to grow. The famous book of Bihari Lal called the *Satsai* in Hindi belongs to this period.

One of the most significant developments during the medieval period was the birth of the Urdu language. This new language soon developed one of the richest literatures as a modern Indian language. It produced great poets like Wali, Mir Dard, Mir Taqi Mir, Nazir Akbarabadi, Asadullah Khan Ghalib and, in the twentieth century, Iqbal and others. Urdu prose also developed early in the eighteenth century when the translation of most of the historical works from Persian and Sanskrit into Urdu began. At the same time many original prose works in Urdu were written like Muhammad Husain Azad's *Darbar-i-*

Akbari. The Urdu novel was one of the earliest to develop in the Indian languages. Urdu became the language of the urban people of northern India and the Deccan and is one of the best examples of the growth of a common culture.

MUSIC AND DANCE

As in architecture, painting, languages and literature, signs of growth and synthesis are visible in the evolution of other aspects of culture. Governed by almost the same basic ideas, the music and dances of India developed a very rich variety on the foundations laid in the ancient times. The earliest traditions of Indian music can be traced back to the Vedas which prescribed the pitch and accent for the chanting of Vedic hymns. The music of the Vedic chant survives to this day. The earliest known treatise of Indian music, dance and drama is as old as second century B.C. This is Bharata's *Natyashastra*. Much of the musical terminology used till today is derived from Bharata's treatise. Another major work composed over a thousand years later was Matanga's *Brihaddesi*. The concept of *raga* was discussed at great length in this work. A thirteenth century work, Sarngadeva's *Sangita-ratnakara*, mentions 264 *ragas*. Indian music, both vocal and instrumental, developed with seven basic notes and five others. A variety of string, wind and drum instruments were later invented. Music has, from times immemorial, been one of the most cherished arts of India. Besides providing patronage to musicians, many rulers themselves were accomplished musicians. We see, for example, Samudragupta's coin in which the king himself is shown playing on the Vina. Music was also associated with the worship of gods and goddesses and in its perfection it has received the same devotion as worship.

The medieval period witnessed further developments in music. Music was not a part of the original Islamic tradition (though the form of recitation of the Quranic verses is musical), but it developed under the influence of the Sufis and became a part of court life. Many new forms and instruments were developed. Amir Khusrau, about whose contribution to literature and historical writing you have read, is believed to have invented some of these musical instruments. He was the originator in India of the early form of the popular musical style known as *Qawwali*. *Khayal*, one of the most important forms of Indian classical music, is also believed to be his contribution. Then there are the legendary figures of Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa, and his queen Rupamati in the sixteenth century. They were not only accomplished musicians but also introduced many new *ragas*. The most notable figure in music in medieval India was Tansen, the court musician of Akbar. His attainments in music have become a legend and his memory is deeply cherished by every musician to this day. The patronage of music continued at the courts of rulers in the eighteenth century and the traditions evolved through the centuries were kept alive. The contribution of the Bhakti and Sufi saints in the development and promotion of music is very important.

The growth of Indian classical music has been a major force of India's cultural unity. For hundreds of years, most of the words and themes of the Indian classical music have been derived from Hindu mythology but some of the greatest masters of this music have been Muslims. It is inter-

esting to mention here the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, a collection of songs in praise of Hindu deities and Muslim saints, which was written by a seventeenth century ruler Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

Both in vocal and instrumental music, two main classical styles have evolved–Hindustani and Carnatic. Some of the greatest figures in Carnatic music were Purandaradasa, Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Syamasastri whose compositions continue to dominate Carnatic music even now. These two styles have many things in common and each has a variety of forms. The rich heritage of classical music that has come down to us has been further enriched in the hands of masters in India today and has won admirers all the world over. Besides classical music, Indian people have developed rich traditions of folk music.

Indian dance has also developed a rich classical tradition. It has become the medium of expression of emotions, of telling a story and of drama. The story of Indian dance can be seen in the temple sculptures of ancient and medieval times. The popular image of Shiva in the form of Nataraja symbolizes the influence of this art form on the life of the Indian people. It received the patronage of emperors and kings as also of the common people. Some styles of classical dance that have evolved through the centuries are Kathakali, Kuchipudi, Bharat Natyam, Kathak and Manipuri. All these styles have developed over a long period of time. Practically every region and area in the country has also developed rich traditions of folk dances. The rich variety in music and dance forms, classical and folk, is a major component of India's cultural heritage.

Through their music and dance, Indian people have expressed their joys and sorrows, their struggles and aspirations, and a myriad other emotions. While at work and during their hours of leisure, they have danced, sung and played music. These art forms have been inspired by life and in turn have enriched life.

In this chapter, only a few components and aspects of India's cultural development have been described. Indians throughout their history, made significant advances in various fields of knowledge such as science and mathematics, medicine and surgery, and philosophy. You have read about some of the achievements in these fileds in earlier chapters of this book (Vol. I). Some of the great names in Indian science, mathematics, medicine and surgery are Aryabhata, Brahmagupta, Charaka and Sushruta. A prominent figure in the field of science in the sixteenth century was Fathullah Shirazi. In all these fields, India's achievements reached other countries. Many works of these men of science were translated by the Arabs and through the Arabs they reached the Europeans. You are already familiar with the story of the Indian numerals. Indians also benefited from the scientific achievements of other cultures, particularly in astronomy and, in medieval times, also in medicine. Science in India failed to keep pace with scientific development in some other parts of the world only from about the sixteenth century when modern science began to develop in Europe. In technology, this situation came even later. The comparative backwardness of Indian science and technology grew more acute as science and technology made rapid progress in the West. This, as you have seen, had disastrous consequences.

In philosophy also, India made signifi-

cant advances in ancient and medieval times. Many distinct schools of philosophy grew, both idealist and materialist. In later times, however, there was too much emphasis on writing commentaries on earlier philosophical works rather than developing new thinking. Though India's heritage in this area of intellectual life is of great importance and has been a significant influence in philosophical writings in other countries, the neglect of certain developments in philosophy had a negative effect on Indian intellectual life. These developments, particularly of scientific, humanistic and rationalist thinking, began to be imbibed in Indian intellectual life in the nineteenth century.

This in brief is the story of Indian cultural development through the ages. Through the long years, people living in India and those coming to India intermingled with each other. They developed a rich and dynamic culture always ever-growing through its internal evolution and through contacts with other cultures. Many streams of thought, belief and expression originating elsewhere have mixed with the ever-growing streams in India and coalesced to form the ocean of Indian culture. Many streams of faith and religion, of styles of architecture and art, and of languages rich in literature have developed during the course of centuries. In its variety Indian culture is one of the richest in the world. All the diverse streams have developed in this country and are Indian. This richness has come about as a result of the freedom which every region and community has enjoyed to develop its genius and through their mutual interactions. It also needs to be remembered that the culture of any country is a dynamic and ever-growing entity which needs to be further developed and enriched by every generation.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1. Name the many groups of people who came to India and settled down here from about 1500 B.C. to A.D. 1800.
2. Name one important work of each of the following persons:
   Bana, Kalidasa, Ashvaghosha, Panini, Abul Fazl, Jahangir, Amir Khusrau, Kautilya, Thiruvalluvar, Kamban, Pampa, Tulsidas, Ziauddin Barani, Kalhan.
3. How did the temple architecture begin in India ? What were the main features of its development in the southern parts of India ? Name some of the important temples of the ancient and early medieval periods.
4. What were the languages of literature in ancient India ? How did the modern Indian languages develop ?

Things to Do

1. On an outline map of India, show the places where important monuments of the ancient and medieval periods are found.
2. Visit the monuments belonging to the same or different periods and try to find out differences in style.

3. With the help of your teacher, prepare a list of about 100 words belonging to other languages which have become a part of your mothertongue.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. Why do we say that the heritage of Indian culture is very rich ? Has it something to do with its diversity ? If so, is it desirable, in your opinion, to have such a diversity of culture ? Why ? Or why not ?
2. What lessons do you learn from India's cultural heritage ?
3. What are the main contributions of the medieval period to religion, art and architecture, literature and languages ?
4. Is it true that the characteristic feature of Indian culture in different periods of India's history has been 'unity in diversity' ? Study more intensively any one period of history and discuss concretely whether this is true or not.

CHAPTER 2

Indian Awakening

Many changes were brought about by the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution and the socio-political revolutions which laid the foundations of the modern world in Europe. These changes led to the growth of rationalism and scientific thinking, a vast increase in the production of goods, increasing participation of people in the government of their countries and a growing realization of human equality and respect for the dignity of the individual. Indian society during the same period was, however, still living in its old ways, largely uninfluenced by these developments. It had stagnated and had to pay the price of stagnation when it failed to resist the onslaught of British imperialism.

Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century

Each village produced almost all its bare necessities of life. Its relationship with other parts of the country for its economic needs was limited. The techniques of agriculture also had not significantly changed for hundreds of years. Local crafts and agricultural operations were carried out with the help of simple tools. The economic bonds that unite a country were weak. Towns and cities had developed as administrative, pilgrimage or commercial centres. The industries produced luxury or semi-luxury goods with the help of simple tools. These goods were produced mainly for the urban population or for exports.

Indian merchants traded with other countries and made vast profits. These profits, however, were not used to develop industries. Technological improvements were not introduced. Some changes were beginning to take place as a result of internal and foreign trade. For example, the domestic system had begun. In course of time, these forces might have become strong enough to bring about fundamental changes. However, before this could happen, India fell a prey to British conquest, and processes of internal change in India, however slow, were disrupted.

The economic stagnation was accompanied by a similar stagnation in the social sphere. The social system of the Hindus was predominantly based on the caste system which had arisen in ancient times. In course of time, it had undergone many changes, but its hereditary and unequal basis had remained unchanged. The caste system was one of the most important causes of social disunity. There were hundreds of castes and sub-castes in the country which led to the fragmentation of society. The sense of belonging to a caste or sub-caste was strong. A large part of the population was considered by the people of higher castes as 'untouchable'.

The life of the Hindus, in theory, was governed by the Dharmashastras which

prescribed different rights and duties for different castes. But there were several evil customs and practices which had become a part of the Hindu social system, such as *sati*, infanticide, child marriages, and belief in superstitions. The status of women in society had deteriorated. A widow's life particularly if she belonged to a 'higher' caste, was miserable. She could not remarry even if she became a widow during her childhood.

The Muslims were also divided by caste, ethnic and sectarian differences. The backward economic system, together with a social system lacking in cohesion and equality, retarded the forces of progress. The political system presented an equally dismal picture. Political loyalties were primarily local or regional. The Mughal empire had declined after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. India was divided into a number of small and big states fighting against one another. The Marathas who emerged as the strongest power in India after the decline of the Mughal empire had no conception of a united Indian nation. Their conception of nationality was narrow and limited, and they thought of dominating over other parts of the country rather than welding them into a nation. The concept of 'nation' as we understand it today had not developed.

It was in such conditions that the European trading companies, active in India since the early seventeenth century, started interfering in the political affairs of the country. Taking advantage of the political, economic, and social weaknesses of Indian society, the British were able to conquer India.

IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE ON INDIA

The conquest of India, was undertaken by the English East India Company established in A.D.1600 for purposes of trade with India. In 1765, after the Battle of Buxar, the Company received the right to collect the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The British power gradually increased and within a period of about 50 years, it had emerged as the supreme power in India.

With the expansion of the British empire in India, the influence and the privileges of the Company declined and those of the British government increased. The Industrial Revolution had already begun in England and the power of the new class of capitalists was on the increase. The empire increasingly served the interests of this new class, and India became a vast market for the consumption of manufactured goods and a source for raw materials. Thus, in a matter of a few decades, the character and purpose of the British empire in India underwent an important change. After the suppression of the Revolt of 1857, the Indian empire passed to the British Crown and the British government became the paramount power in the country. Those states which were under the Indian princes were not sovereign as the British government enjoyed vast powers over them. Thus, in about a hundred years, the entire country passed under British control.

The British conquest had many important consequences for Indian society because of its impact on the economic, social and political system of the country. The Indian people, under the impact of British rule and as a reaction to it, started movements for the reform and modernization of Indian society, as well as for putting an end to foreign rule.

Impact of British Rule

A significant result of the British conquest was the political and administrative unification of India even though under and in the interest of foreign rulers, and the

establishment of a uniform rule of law. While this was, no doubt, done to serve the imperialist interests of Britain, it became a factor in the rise of modern India.

The economic policies of the British government in India had even more significant consequences as they resulted in the disruption of the traditional Indian social and economic relationships. New social classes arose. In the areas where the Permanent Settlement was introduced a new class of landlords, some of whom were very rich, was formed which regarded land as their private property and aimed at obtaining the maximum monetary gain out of it. They did not cultivate the land themselves. The cultivators were mere tenants with no rights and could be evicted by the landowners. In areas where the Ryotwari System came into force, the peasant was the owner of the land but his life was miserable. He was very often heavily in debt and in the clutches of the money-lenders who, eventually, came to control the land and its produce.

The land revenue assessment was made according to the size of the holdings and the revenue demand was fixed in terms of money, whatever the actual produce. The collection of fixed revenue in cash had a far-reaching consequence — agricultural production was no longer for use in the village only and much of it was sent to the market for sale. The production for sale in the market led to specialization of cultivation. Crops which could fetch a higher price in the market were grown in areas suitable for their cultivation. With the increase in the demand for raw materials to feed the industries in England, cash crops began to be grown. The specialization and commercialization of crops further undermined the self-sufficiency of the village. The peasants now depended for many of their needs on the market outside the village. The new revenue systems led to peasant indebtedness and the commercialization of agriculture worsened it further They also contributed to the problem of landlessness.

The British conquest also led to the ruin of Indian industry and trade. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, India was the principal supplier of cotton textiles to England and other countries of Europe. With the growth of the cotton industry in England following the Industrial Revolution, and with growing restrictions on imports into Europe, the policies the British government pursued destroyed Indian industry. Within a few decades, India was reduced from the position of a principal exporter to that of one of the largest consumers of foreign products. It produced raw materials to feed the British industries. Restrictions were imposed on the growth of Indian industries. The Indian traders had been eliminated from the foreign trade of India. Gradually, they were reduced to a minor position in internal trade also. Internal trade between different parts of the country also suffered a decline. The development of the means of transport and communication, particularly of railways, was designed to facilitate this process and to destroy the traditional pattern of the Indian economy. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a few modern industries began to be developed in India. The principal among these were cotton, jute, and coalmining. Though the growth of these industries was lopsided and many restrictions were imposed on them, the beginning of modern industry was a landmark in Indian history.

In the early nineteenth century, some

British administrators of India were inspired by the liberal ideas popular in the West at that time, and tried to introduce them in India. This was reflected in some of the social legislation of the British government in India, and in the introduction of modern education. Some of the important measures taken were the abolition of sati, ban on infanticide and granting the legal right to widows to remarry. The educational system was reorganized and though it was done with a view to training people for clerical and other lower services, it brought the educated people into contact with the modern ideas of democracy and nationalism. The beginning of the Press, in spite of the severe restrictions placed upon it from time to time, helped progressively to spread modern ideas to a large number of people.

Another effect of the British rule was the emergence of new social classes in India which played an important part in the awakening of the people. A significant development was the emergence of a middle class. People of this class received modern education and became interested in public services. With the beginning of modern industry, a class of industrialists as well as of big and small traders also started growing. There were also the moneylenders in the villages. Another significant group which emerged was that of professional people who constituted the intelligentsia—officials, lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, technicians and others. This group, mainly drawn from the new social classes mentioned above, was very important in the society. It was more liberal in outlook because it drew its position and strength from professional competence rather than hereditary privilege. By reason of its acquaintance with the intellectual currents in other parts of the world, it became the leading group in the demand for modernization.

Some other classes also became important in course of time. The British rule created a vast mass of landless peasants. The movements of the landless for tenancy rights and against exploitation, and movements of peasants began to surface. The industrial working class became socially significant later — in the twentieth century.

The British conquest thus had a far-reaching impact on the Indian society. It was as a result of this impact and as a reaction to it that the people of India started examining their social set-up in order to reform it and to lay the foundations of modernization. The nineteenth century saw the rise of a series of religious and social reform movements. They paved the way for the growth of national consciousness and a national movement aiming at the independence of the country and reconstruction of society.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

Social and religious reform movements arose among all communities of the Indian people. In religion, they attacked bigotry, superstition and the hold of the priestly class. In social life, they aimed at the abolition of castes, child marriage and other legal and social inequalities.

Rammohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj

Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) was the central figure in the awakening of modern India. Basing himself on a rational and scientific approach and the principle of human dignity and social equality, he was

Raja Rammohan Roy

the first to take the lead in the direction of social reform and had been called the 'father of modern India'. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Persian and English and knew Arabic as well as Latin and Greek. He had mastered ancient Indian and European philosophy as well as the ideas of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, and combined in himself all that was best in the philosophies of the East and the West. Deeply devoted to the work of religious and social reform, he founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828.

In religion, he condemned polytheism and idol worship, and propagated the concept of 'one God of all religions and humanity'. His religious ideas had assimilated elements from Islam, Christianity, the Upanishads and modern European liberal philosophy. He advocated a rational approach to religion and advised people to read the scriptures themselves and not depend on the intermediary brahmanas. For this purpose, he translated ancient Indian works on religion and philosophy into Bengali.

Rammohan Roy attacked the caste system. He campaigned to persuade the government to abolish *sati* and child marriage. He stood for equal rights for women, advocated the right of widows to marry and the right of women to property. He stood for modern education and the introduction of English education for the propagation of science in India. All his efforts were devoted to the spread of modern knowledge and to the modernization of Indian society. He justified his views not merely on the basis of ancient scriptures but by the light of reason and humanitarian principles and was prepared to break with tradition. He had imbibed the humanitarian ideas of the 'age of reason'. For example, he said: "If mankind are brought into existence, and by nature formed to enjoy the comforts of society and the pleasure of an improved mind, they may be justified in opposing any system, religious, domestic or political, which is inimical to the happiness of society, or calculated to debase the human intellect". He was an internationalist and supported the cause of freedom everywhere. When the uprising in Naples to unify Italy failed in 1821, he cancelled all his social engagements. He celebrated the success of the 1830 Revolution in France and condemned the conditions of people who were suffering under British rule in Ireland.

The work started by Rammohan Roy was continued by the organization he had built—the Brahmo Samaj. The Samaj was

the first attempt by Indians in the nineteenth century to reform Hindu society. It did signal work in the field of removal of caste distinctions and improving the condition of women, particularly widows. Although there were many dissensions in the Samaj, it won a large number of adherents and became an important influence in the life of Bengal. Under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen, the work of the Samaj expanded throughout the country and as many as 124 institutions were set up in different parts of India.

Another outstanding reformer in Bengal was Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91). A scholar of great depth, he dedicated himself to the cause of the emancipation of women. It was due to his efforts that legal obstacles to the marriage of widows were removed through a law in 1856. He played a leading role in promoting education of girls and started and helped the setting up of a number of schools for girls. Vidyasagar was also the leading figure in promoting modern Bengali language and prepared primers for teaching it.

Spread of the Reform Movements

Similar movements soon started in other parts of the country. After Bengal the most important region where the movement for reforms spread was western India. The most significant activities of the various organizations in western India were in the field of women's education, widow remarriage, raising the age of marriage, condemnation of caste barriers and idolatry. In 1867, the Prarthana Samaj was founded in Bombay. The social and religious reform activities of the Prarthana Samaj were similar to those of the Brahmo Samaj. Many national leaders like Mahadev Govinda Ranade (1842-1901) joined it.

Ranade was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, but his greatest passion was social reform. As a judge in Poona, he took an active part in the activities of the Sarvajanik Sabha which was a leading organization for mobilizing public opinion. An all India organization, the Indian Social Conference was formed in 1887. Ranade was the soul of the Conference and served as its General Secretary for 14 years. Under Ranade's leadership, the Conference worked as a secular organization and campaigned for various reforms aiming at modernization of Indian society. Some of the demands of the Conference were the abolition of caste, intercaste marriages, raising of the marriageable age, discouragement of polygamy, widow remarriage, women's education, improvement in the condition of the so-called outcastes, and settlement of religious disputes between Hindus and Muslims by the appointment of Panchayats. Ranade was a great intellectual and took a broad view of the problems. He was convinced that the nation needed to progress in all spheres of life —social, educational, political and economic. He said: "You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges, unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and grovelling, you cannot succeed in the social, economic or political spheres. This inter-dependence is not an accident but is the law of our nature". Under his leadership, the work of social reform was made more broad-based and was extended all over the country.

The leading role in the awakening of the

oppressed castes in Maharashtra was played by Jotirao Govindrao Phule. He was popularly known as Mahatma Jotiba Phule. He questioned the supremacy of the brahmanas and the authority of the scriptures. In 1873, he organized the Satyashodhak Samaj to mobilize the so-called lower castes and other oppressed sections in a movement for equality, and played a leading role in the spread of education of girls, particularly of the oppressed castes. Similar movements arose in other parts of the country. Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919) pioneered the movement in support of widow remarriage and girls' education in Andhra. Shri Narayana Guru (1854-1928) led the movement against caste oppression in Kerala. In 1903 he founded the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP) to carry on the work of social reform, the awakening of the oppressed castes and to promote among the people fraternity without distinctions of caste and religion.

The Arya Samaj

Another movement to reform Hindu society was started by Dayanand Saraswati. He founded the Arya Samaj in 1875. Dayanand was born in a brahmana family of Kathiawar and at a very early age rebelled against idol worship. At the age of 22, he ran away from home. He turned to the Vedas for reforming Hinduism. His most important work *Satyarthia Prakash* was published in 1879. He had met the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj and had become familiar with their ideas. He attacked child marriage as being contrary to the Vedas. In his book, he also denounced other established religions. According to Dayanand, the Vedas were infallible and Hinduism should be purified by returning to the Vedas. The achievements of the Arya Samaj in the field of social and religious reform were significant and perhaps more than those of other contemporary reform movements. The influence of the Brahmo Samaj was limited to mainly the intelligentsia. Some other reformers mentioned earlier questioned the authority of the scriptures. Because of its emphasis on the infallibility of the Vedas and its condemnation of other religions, it is said that the Arya Samaj encouraged revivalist tendencies and was, in its thinking, not so forward-looking in some respects as some other reform movements of the nineteenth century.

The Arya Samaj repudiated the authority of the brahmanas and condemned a number of religious rites and idol worship. It opposed the existing caste system as it was based on heredity, though it was not opposed to the caste system as such. It advocated equal rights for men and women. However, the greatest achievements of the Arya Samaj was in the field of education. A large number of schools and colleges were started, both for boys and girls, all over the country. The medium of instruction in the schools was Hindi, and English was compulsory in the higher classes. The influence of Arya Samaj was most felt in the Punjab where its work in spreading education to all sections and in ridding Hindus of many superstitions was particularly notable.

Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna Mission

Ramakrishna Paramhamsa had a tremendous influence on the Hindus. He was a saint who popularized Vedantic philosophy, mysticism and the path of devotion to God. His greatest disciple was Swami Vivekananda (1861-1902). He believed in reviving all the best traditions of Hinduism and not merely the Vedas. After the death of Ramakrishna, he founded the

Ramakrishna Mission to propagate the teachings of his master. The Mission established several educational institutions in the country. During his tour of America, he argued that Vedanta was the religion of all and not of the Hindus alone. Though religion was his mission in life, he was keenly interested in the improvement of all aspects of national life. He expressed his concern for the condition of the people and said that neglect of the masses is a sin. He was impressed by the economic prosperity of the West and the status women enjoyed there. Vivekananda combined in him dynamism and nationalism and greatly influenced the younger generation to take pride in their country.

Annie Besant and the Theosophical Society

The theosophical movement was introduced by Madame Blavatsky in India in 1882 with its headquarters at Adyar in Madras. The supporters of the theosophical movement claimed that theosophy embodied in itself the truths which underlay all religions. Annie Besant came to India in 1893 and became the leader of the movement. In the beginning, she devoted herself to the revival of Hindu religion with its philosophy, rituals and modes of worship. Though her ideas were used by those who were opposed to social reforms in their conflict with the reformers, they helped to impart to the educated Indians a sense of pride in their own country. Her activities in the field of education were more significant. She founded the Central Hindu College at Banaras which she later handed over to Banaras Hindu University. The headquarters of the society at Adyar became a centre of knowledge with a library of rare Sanskrit books.

Annie Besant later threw herself into the work of social reform and politics. She organized the Home Rule League during the First World War. After her detention, she became President of the Congress in 1917. Although the theosophical movement did not enjoy mass popularity, its work under the leadership of Annie Besant for the awakening of the Indian people was remarkable. She wrote: "The needs of India are, among others, the development of a national spirit, an education founded on Indian ideals and enriched, not dominated, by the thought and culture of the West". She thus contributed a great deal to the development of the national spirit of India.

Other Reform Movements

The movements for religious and social reform arose in other communities and other parts of the country. The reform movements in the Muslim community began in the later half of the nineteenth century. These movements developed late among Muslims because the Muslim middle class came later and was weak. The British conquest had dispossessed most of the Muslim jagirdars. These jagirdars could not reconcile themselves to the new situation and shied away from modern education. Many Muslims were skilled workers and were ruined as a result of the economic impact of British conquest. In the Revolt of 1857, the Muslim masses and religious leaders fought against the British. After the Revolt was crushed, the British government took repressive measures against Muslims and regarded them as its enemies, holding them responsible for the Revolt. The British government followed a deliberate anti-Muslim policy and discriminated against them. It also promoted feelings of separateness among them. The remaining

Muslim jagirdars were feudal in outlook. They lived their lives in the old way, unmindful of the changes that were taking place.

After the Revolt, the need for modernization was increasingly felt by the Muslim community and resulted in the rise of a number of movements. Most of these movements were concerned with imparting modern English education to the Muslim community, campaigning against polygamy and the purdah system and reinterpreting religion in the light of modern ideas. Some of these movements devoted themselves to political opposition to the British government. In many ways, they helped in awakening the people to the need for change.

The beginning was made in Bengal by Nawab Abdul Latif. He founded the Mohammedan Literary Society in Calcutta in 1863 for advocating the learning of the English language and modern sciences. The society started a number of educational institutions throughout Bengal. Soon, however, more widespread movements arose which greatly influenced the Muslim community.

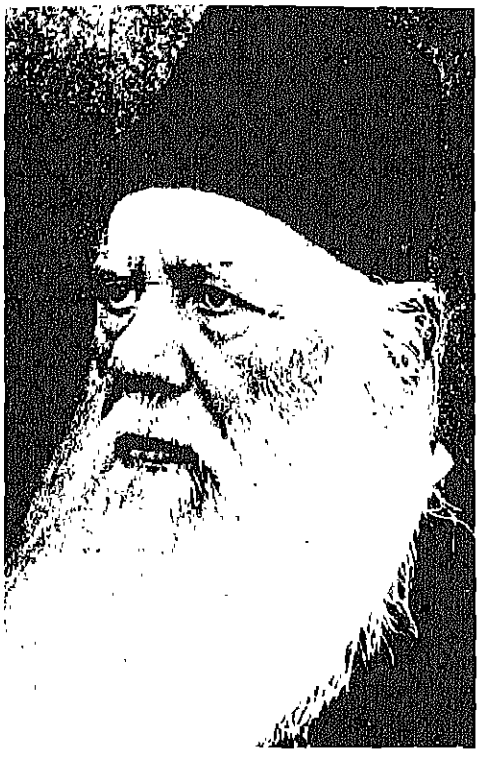
Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement

The most influential movement of reform was started by Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-99). Generally known as Sir Syed, he had been in the service of the British government and, like many contemporary reformers, was a supporter of the British rule. He wanted to remove the bitter enmity between Muslims and the British government, to interpret Islam and bring it in conformity with modern science and philosophy, and to persuade Muslims to receive modern education and enter the services. In the beginning, he devoted himself mainly to theological questions, re-interpreting Islam and stressing the humanitarianism of Islam. In 1862 he founded the Scientific Society to translate and publish scientific works in Urdu to familiarize the people with modern science. His crowning achievement was the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875 which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. It was because of this that the movement of reform started by Sir Syed is known as the Aligarh Movement. Aligarh Muslim University became one of the most important breeding grounds of new trends in the political, social and cultural life of the Muslims.

In his educational and literary activities, Sir Syed had served all the people of India. Various organizations, including Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, expressed their gratitude for the work he did. However, he insisted on the cooperation of the Muslims with the British government and looked at all political movements with distrust. Thus when the Indian National Congress was formed, he opposed it. He regarded 'education and education alone as the means of national progress'.

His opposition to the Congress shocked other Muslim leaders who, beginning with moderate reform activities, had joined the Indian National Congress and were working for the building up of a secular movement for national regeneration. One of the reasons for his attitude was his belief that in view of the backwardness of the Muslim community, the Muslim interests would be harmed if they stared taking part in political agitation.

Another reason was the extreme upper-class attitude. On the Congress demand



Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

for having elected representatives in the Provincial Legislative Councils and for holding civil service examinations in India (which were then held in England), he said: "You will see that, in one of the necessary conditions of sitting at the same table with the Viceroy, the person concerned should have a high social status in the country. Will the members of noble families in our country like it that a person of lower class or low status even if he had taken the B.A. or M.A. degree and possessed the necessary ability, should govern them and dispose of their wealth, property and honour ? Never".

In spite of these limitations, Sir Syed was, more than any other leader, responsible for awakening the Muslims to the realities of the modern world and preparing them to meet the challenge. He regarded Hindus and Muslims to be one *Qaum* and, using the term in the sense of 'nation', said, "For ages the word *Qaum* has been used for people of a country though they may consist of distinct groups. O, Hindus and Muslims ! are you the residents of any other country but India? Surely you live and die on the same land. Remember that Hindus and Muslims are religious terms. Otherwise, Hindus, Muslims and Christians who live in this country are by virtue of this fact one *Qaum*. Now, when all these groups are called one *Qaum*, they should act as such for the common good of the country which is good for all of them."

Other Muslim Reform Movements

There were many other movements which in one way or the other helped the national awakening of the Muslims. Mirza Ghulam Ahmed had founded the Ahmediya Movement in 1899. Under this movement, a number of schools and colleges were opened all over the country, imparting modern education. In religion, it emphasized the universal and humanitarian character of Islam and wanted the establishment of cordial relations by its members with people of all communities.

Another important movement is associated with the centre of a religious school at Deoband near Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh. It was founded by some Ulema, the Muslim theologians, and their followers who had fought against the British rule in 1857. It was also a centre of political revolt against the British rule, and imparted to its students love for political freedom. When Sir Syed advised Muslims to keep away from the Congress and join

the pro-government Patriotic Association, about 100 Ulema from all over the country and even from Medina and Baghdad issued a *fatwa* forbidding Muslims to join the Association and permitting them to join the Congress. The Deoband school and many similar movements kept alive the spirit of freedom.

There were other more thorough-going movements of social reform amongst the Muslims. These movements worked for the emancipation of women, combated the system of purdah, polygamy and child-marriage. These movements were particularly strong in western and southern India. Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906) was the most outstanding leader of these movements. He was the first Indian bar-at-law to start practice in the Bombay High Court. Along with other social reformers and national leaders, he was active in the Indian Social Conference of which you have read before. He joined Pherozeshah Metha and others in founding the Bombay Presidency Association to promote common national interests. He was one of the founders of the Congress and its third President.

There were many other leaders belonging to various communities who played an important part in the awakening of Indian society. Behramji Malabari and Pandita Ramabai were two other outstanding leaders who played a leading role in movements for women's uplift. There were reform movements among Parsis initiated by Nauroji Furdonji and Dadabhai Naorji. The Singh Sabhas played a leading role in the spread of education among Sikhs. Later, a powerful movement arose among the Sikhs to put an end to the control of the Gurudwaras by corrupt Mahants.

In the twentieth century, when the nationalist movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi became a mass movement social reform became an integral part of the struggle for freedom.

Impact of the Reform Movements

As a result of these movements, significant advances were made in the field of emancipation of women. Some legal measures were introduced to elevate their status. The practice of *sati* and infanticide were made illegal. In 1856, a law was passed permitting widow remarriage. Another law, passed in 1860, raised the marriageable age of girls to ten which was a significant advance in those days. Many superstitions also began to disappear. At the close of the century, it was no longer considered sinful to travel to foreign countries and expiatory rituals for being accepted back in the community were no longer thought necessary on one's return.

The reform movements that grew differed from each other in many ways, but they all helped in awakening the people to the need for change. Most of these movements, as you have seen, were religious in character and appealed to one's own religious community. This is understandable. As most of the social evils had become associated with religious practices, these social reform movements had inevitably to be religious as well.

The reform movements contributed a great deal to the birth of Indian nationalism. These were country-wide movements influencing people everywhere and not just in isolated areas. The reform activities united people and the attack on institutions like caste which hampered social unity created a sense of oneness in the people. Therefore, they played an important role in the rise of nationalism.

But most of these reform movements

had certain limitations. The questions to which they gave primacy concerned only small sections of Indian society. Some of them also failed to emphasize or even recognize that colonial rule was basically inimical to the interests of the Indian people. Most of them also worked within the framework of their respective communities and, in a way, tended to promote identities based on religion or caste. Many of these limitations were sought to be overcome during the course of the national movement with which many social and religious reformers were closely associated. Indian nationalism aimed at the regeneration of the entire Indian society irrespective of caste and community. It was no longer necessary to confine the movement of social reform to one's own community. The nationalist movement tackled all social evils on a national basis and did not deal with them community-wise.

The awareness of the exploitative nature of the colonial rule also began to emerge in the later half of the nineteenth century. A pioneer in this regard was Dadabhai Naoroji, who has been referred to in connection with the reform movement in the Parsi community. He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and was thrice its President. He was the first Indian to be elected to British Parliament. He influenced the economic thinking of the intelligentsia through his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. In this book, he exposed the disastrous consequences of British rule on Indian economy. His theory of the British drain of Indian wealth provided the basis of the campaign against British rule. He was loved and respected by the people as the Grand Old Man of India. Besides Dadabhai Naoroji, the other leaders who played a prominent role in promoting an awareness of the economic exploitation of India by the British were M.G. Ranade, G. V. Joshi and R.C. Dutt.

GROWTH OF EDUCATION

As you have already read, almost all reform movements aimed at the spread of modern education in India because of the part it played in the modernization of society.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, the government of the East India Company followed a policy of indifference in the matter of education, which was not regarded as a part of the responsibility of a commercial company. The traditional educational system consisted of small *pathshalas* and *madrasas* in temples and mosques and was confined, besides teaching the three R's, mainly to religious education. This system suffered a decline under British rule. The first efforts at imparting modern education were made by Christian missionaries and individual officers of the Company. The missionaries opened schools and started printing presses. They printed many books. Though they aimed primarily at the spread of Christianity through their educational institutions, they did much pioneering work in the spread of modern education.

Beginnings of Modern Education

Many Indians had started realizing that modern education was necessary to meet the challenge of modern times. They put pressure on the government to start educational institutions. Some advance was made with the help of individual government officials and other Europeans. One of the most important achievements was the

founding of the Hindu College at Calcutta in 1817. Rammohan Roy was associated with the founding of this college along with many liberal Europeans like David Hare. It created a new intellectual climate in Calcutta and was the centre of the most radical movement of the time called the Young Bengal Movement. The leading personality in this movement was Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a Portuguese-Indian youth. He joined the Hindu College as a teacher of philosophy in 1826 at the young age of 17. A whole generation of youth came under his influence and learned to think for itself in a rational and scientific way. He instilled in his students love for independent thinking, liberty and patriotism. He was a poet and expressed his love for India in his poetry.

He was removed from the staff of the college for preaching atheism and, soon after, died. His life symbolized the new intellectual atmosphere which was developing as a result of the beginning of modern education. Indian students were becoming familiar with the revolutionary ideas of the French philosophers and the democratic thought of other countries of Europe. Many Indians had also started schools and colleges for imparting modern education.

The British Government's Educational Policy

The British government, however, was the chief agency in spreading modern education after the initial indifference. One of the reasons for the change was the need for educated Indians in minor administrative posts. With the consolidation of the British rule, the work of administration had increased and it was not possible to get people from England for all jobs. People to man minor jobs in administration, commercial work and industries were needed. Lawyers, doctors, teachers, and other professional people were also required. To meet all these requirements, it was necessary to impart English education to some Indians. The zeal of many British administrators in spreading European culture, which they considered superior to all other, also played a part in the decision to introduce English education. In this, they were supported by many Indians like Rammohan Roy who realized the importance of English education as a means of bringing modern knowledge to the people of India.

The first step by the government was taken in 1813 when it was decided to set apart a sum of 'not less than one lakh of rupees' for education. This immediately led to the controversy between two groups called the Anglicists and the Orientalists. The Anglicists led by Macaulay advocated the teaching of western learning with English as the medium of education. Some Orientalists advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic learning, and others wanted the teaching of modern knowledge through local languages. The government ultimately decided in favour of the Anglicists and clearly stated that 'all of the funds be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language'. Soon after, the use of Persian in the courts of law was discontinued and the government started giving preference to English-knowing candidates for government jobs.

The traditional educational system of the country had suffered as a result of British conquest. This system had assured at least the knowledge of the three R's to a

large number of people. The British government, however, did not take any responsibility to spread education to the people. Consequently, primary education was neglected.

The next advance came in 1854 with what is known as the Wood's Dispatch. Under this Dispatch, the government undertook to pay more attention to the spread of education. Local languages along with English were made the media of instruction at the school stage and English at the college stage. The aim of education as stated by the Dispatch was the spread of western culture; it would seek to foster and promote loyalty to the State among Indian students and prepare them for administrative responsibilities.

It was only towards the end of the century that significant advances took place in the spread of education. By then, the role of Indians themselves in opening educational institutions became important. The Deccan Education Society was established in Bombay and did useful work. The activities of many reformers in the field of education, including the education of women, have already been mentioned.

Influence of Education

In spite of the activities of the missionaries, the British government and Indians and their organizations, education remained confined to a small minority of people. Primary education was neglected and this, combined with the decline of the traditional system of education, led to illiteracy of the vast majority of the Indian population. The promoters of English education had hoped at creating a class of Indians who would be English in their thinking and habits. However, although English education created a hiatus between the English educated and the rest of the population, it brought Indians into close contact with rational and scientific ideas and with science and technology. Even though it was done to train people for minor administrative jobs, it facilitated the growth of knowledge and the spread of the ideas of democracy, nationalism and, in the twentieth century, socialism. Another important change was that it was not confined to any one caste or sect. It was open to all. However, English education was not an unmixed blessing. The educational system was not designed to promote thinking in the interest of the Indian people and tended to create a group of people who felt themselves to be different and a class apart from the rest of society.

Rediscovery of the Past

Modern education, in course of time, evoked interest in the correct understanding of India's past. Attempts were made to rediscover and re-study the past of India to enhance the understanding of the present. Laudable efforts were made by many European scholars and enlightened government officials in this direction. The first significant beginning was made by William Jones who came to India in 1783 and founded the Asiatic Society in 1784. The aim of the Society was 'enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia.' The Society built up a rich collection of old manuscripts in various languages and published the learned *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. William Jones himself translated Kalidasa's *Abhijnanashakuntalam*. Many other ancient works like the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Upanishads, the Dharmashastras and the Vedas were translated. Useful work was done on ancient Indian history. James

Prinsep, for example, discovered the clue to the inscriptions of Ashoka which led to the discovery of the achievements of that great emperor. Ancient scripts were deciphered and the study of the ancient inscriptions opened new horizons for the study of Indian history and civilization. Preservation of ancient monuments, paintings and sculpture started, and a proper appreciation of Indian art began. The study of Sanskrit was taken up on scientific lines. Scholars from many other countries of Europe, notably Germany and France, were attracted to the study of the ancient art, history and philosophy of India.

To rule India, the British government felt that the knowledge of Indian history society, religions and culture was necessary. Thus the government encouraged the study of Indian institutions and many European scholars and government officials wrote books on Indian society and history. Some of these works were tendentious and tried to show that the Indian past was one of misery, and British rule, 'a blessing' to the Indian people. They also fostered dissensions between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Much of the new knowledge about India's past gave a sense of pride to the Indian people and helped in their awakening. Many Indian scholars took up the study of Indian history and culture in a systematic way and the appreciation of India from a specifically Indian point of view began. Although some of this led to glorification of everything ancient, it helped Indians regain pride and confidence in themselves and prepared them for the struggle for national independence and reconstruction that lay ahead.

Modern Indian Art and Literature

Although Indian languages were subordinated to the study of English by the British government, their growth was stimulated under the impact of modern ideas. Modern Indian languages which had started growing about a thousand years earlier had become mature and fecund. These languages were further enriched in the nineteenth century. Writers ventured forth into new literary forms and modes such as the novel and the drama. The new development was not merely in the use of new forms but also in content. Novel and drama became increasingly concerned with current problems. Even historical novels and dramas were written with an eye on the present. *Neel Darpan*, the first Bengali political drama, presented the story of the brutality of the English indigo planters. It was banned by the British government. Mythology was increasingly replaced by social and realistic literature. In poetry also there was a change. It was no longer confined to devotional songs, and increasingly adopted secular and national themes. New literature came more and more to be related to the rising national consciousness. By the twentieth century, new forms of literature became fully developed and played an important part in revolutionizing popular attitudes.

There was a revival in the art of painting. The traditions of Ajanta and of the Mughal and Pahari paintings which had been forgotten were revived and developed. Later, trends in art appeared which were largely influenced by contemporary Western styles. The developments in art and literature contributed to the growth of modern culture.

Growth of the Press in the Nineteenth Century

The Press is an important integrating force in society. It keeps people living in one part

informed of the developments in other parts of the country. It is an important medium for the dissemination of information on various problems. It is also a means to mobilize public opinion on important issues of the day. It is a great help in the campaigns for social reform and to influence activities of the state. It can be used as a forum for the expression of popular opinion on matters of public interest.

In India, the growth of the Press started early in the nineteenth century and played an important part in the awakening of the people.

The first newspaper in India was the *Bengal Gazette* started in 1780. However, the real development of the Press came early in the nineteenth century. Rammohan Roy started two papers, *Sambad-Kaumudi* in Bengali and *Miratul-Akbar* in Persian, which were devoted to propagating the case for social reform. Many other national leaders and social reformers were also associated with the growth of the press in India. Dadabhai Naoroji edited *Rast Goftar*, and Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar started *Shome Prakash*. In 1890, an English weekly, the *Indian Social Reformer*, was started in Bombay to propagate social reforms.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, many English dailies were started; many of these are still among the popular newspapers in India like the *Times of India* started in 1861, the *Pioneer* in 1865, the *Madras Mail* in 1865, the *Statesman* in 1875. These papers usually supported the British government's policies. There were other dailies which voiced Indian opinion like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* started in Bengal in 1868 and the *Hindu* started in Madras in 1878. There were many newspapers and journals in Indian languages also. By the end of the nineteenth century, about 500 newspapers and journals in Indian languages and English were published in different parts of the country. With the growth of the national movement, the Indian Press also grew and played an important part in rousing the national consciousness of the people. The bi-weekly *Kesari*, a Marathi journal, started by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was one such journal.

The British government passed many Acts from time to time to introduce censorship over the Indian Press. In the twentieth century when the nationalist Press grew stronger, the freedom of the Press was further curtailed. However, in spite of the suppression, the Press played the role of awakening the people to the need for reform, helped in the dissemination of knowledge and became one of the instruments in the growth of nationalism.

The social and religious reform movements were an expression of the awakening of the Indian people. Education, in spite of its limited nature, promoted awareness of new ideas and of the world and nurtured ideas for reconstruction of India. The rediscovery of India's past and the growth of new literature were an expression of the awakening consciousness and contributed to its further growth. All these changes were an expression of the national awakening of India and contributed to its further development. Nationalism came to embody the aspirations of the Indian people for independence and a new order based on democracy and social equality. You will read about this in the next chapter.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1. Explain the meaning of the following terms: Domestic System, Anglicists, Orientalists, *Sati*, Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari System.
2. With which organizations were the following persons associated ?
   M.G. Ranade, Rammohan Roy, Derozio, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dayanand Saraswati, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Badruddin Tyabji, Vivekananda, Annie Besant, Nawab Abdul Latif, Keshab Chandra Sen, Jotiba Phule, Sri Narayana Guru.
3. What were the new social classes that arose in India after the British conquest ?
4. Describe the social ills against which the social reform movements were directed.
5. What were the points of controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists ?
6. Describe the main phases in the spread of modern education in India in the nineteenth century. What were the agencies which helped in the spread of English education in the same period ?
7. Name some newspapers which were started in the nineteenth century and which are coming out even today.

Things to Do

1. Arrange the various organizations of social reform in order of their formation and list important leaders associated with each.
2. Write an essay on the life and work of Rammohan Roy.
3. In a scrap book collect pictures and sayings of the leaders of the social reform movements.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. What do you understand by the term 'modernization' ? In what respects was Indian society not 'modern' in the early nineteenth century ?
2. Do you think it was necessary or desirable to mix religion with the work of social reform ? Why ? Or why not ?
3. How far, in your opinion, were the movements of social reform effective in ridding Indian society of social evils ? What social evils do you think need to be combated today ?
4. Did modern education help in the awakening of India ? Discuss.
5. Read Parts III and IV of the Constitution of India on the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy. How far have these two parts imbibed and carried forward the aims of the nineteenth century reformers ?

CHAPTER 3

India's Struggle for Independence

THE heroic struggle waged by the people of India to liberate themselves from foreign rule was the result of the rise and growth of Indian nationalism. Indian nationalism took birth in the nineteenth century as a result of the conditions created by British rule. British rule was intended only to serve the interests of the ruling classes of Britain. This was the cause of the fundamental antagonism between the British government and the Indian people.

The rise of nationalism marks a definite stage in the development of human societies everywhere in the world. The British conquest had disrupted the evolution of Indian society through internal processes. Nationalism, therefore, arose in India, as in other countries which were victims of imperialist conquest, under conditions created by foreign rule. With the growth of nationalism, the demands of the Indian people assumed an increasingly nationalist character. Beginning with the demand to have a share in administration, it developed into the struggle for complete independence. The character of the struggle was also gradually transformed. Beginning with constitutional agitation by small sections of educated people, it gradually turned into a revolutionary struggle, peaceful though not constitutional, of the overwhelming majority of the people of India. Besides being a struggle for political independence, it also became a struggle for the reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of democracy and social equality.

THE REVOLT OF 1857

The people in different parts of India, right from the beginning of the British conquest, never acquiesced in their political subjection. Not a year passed without an armed resistance to British rule in one part of the country or the other. Some of these revolts were those of the Sanyasis in Bengal and Bihar (1763 onwards), of the peasants (Midnapur in 1766, Rangpur in 1783, Mysore in 1830-31, Khandesh in 1852), of the chiefs and other landed sections (for example, those of the Poligars of Ramnathapuram, Sivaganga and other places during 1795-1805, of Velu Thambi in Travancore in 1808-09, of Rani Chinnamma of Kittur during 1824-29, etc.), and of the tribal people (notably of the Bhils during 1817-31, the Kols during 1820-37, the Khasis under U. Tirot Singh during 1829-33, the Santhals during 1855-56, etc.). There were also mutinies, for example, at Vellore in 1806. All these revolts were, however, sporadic and localized and though some of them lasted many years, they did not pose

a serious challenge to British rule. The greatest of the revolts, which shook the very foundations of British rule, occurred in 1857.

The revolt began at Meerut on 10 May 1857, with the uprising of Indian sepoys of the British armies in India. It was the result of accumulated resentment, which had been growing since the beginning of British conquest, but was triggered off by the greased cartridges incident. In fact the causes were much deeper than this.

You have read in the previous chapter about the social and economic consequences of British rule. Peasants had been dispossessed of their lands and artisans had been ruined. The British policy of annexation of territory had led to the dispossession of many Indian rulers. As a result of these, discontent was widespread. Dalhousie, who came to India as the Governor-General, annexed eight new states in the course of eight years of his stay in office. There was also a fear in the minds of many people that the British government was out to forcibly convert them to Christianity. That the British government paid scant regard to the religious beliefs of the Indian people is clear from the use of the greased cartridges. Thus the British government had alienated vast numbers of people -- common people as well as former rulers-- and the resentment had been building up for some time. Lord Metcalfe, who was the Governor-General in 1835-36, had written: 'All India is at all time looking out for our downfall. The people everywhere would rejoice, or fancy they would rejoice, at our destruction. And members are not wanting who would promote it by all means in their power.' A little over 20 years after, the revolt broke out.

The revolt soon spread over northern, central and eastern India. The rebels declared Bahadur Shah II, the nominal Mughal king, the Emperor of Hindustan. Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against the British. The deeds of valour of rebels, like the Rani of Jhansi, Maulvi Ahmadulla, Kanwar Singh, Bakht Khan and Tantia Tope, have become proud legends and have inspired the later generations.

The revolt was suppressed after bitter fighting for over a year, though peace was not restored until 1859. The British rulers followed a ruthless and indiscriminate policy of vengeance. Thousands of people were hanged in Delhi, Lucknow and other places. The inhuman reprisals of the British government provoked resentment even in England. Many Englishmen protested against the barbarities of the British rulers and expressed their sympathy and support for the Indian people. The revolt and its cruel suppression left a legacy of bitterness and hatred amongst the people of India.

The revolt marked a turning point in the history of India. The rule of the East India Company came to an end and the control passed to the British Crown. The British government promised not to annex any more Indian states. The Indian states accepted the paramountcy of the British government and became loyal allies of the British rule.

The revolt made the Indian people more politically conscious than before. The movements of social reform and modernization had already started. These movements gathered momentum. The hold of the Indian princes on the Indian people declined and it was increasingly realized that national independence would be attained through a movement of the people themselves and not under the leadership of the

old rulers of India. The struggle against the rulers of Indian states itself became a part of the national struggle for independence. The most valuable legacy of the revolt was the memory of a united struggle. Soon India was to witness the growth of the nationalist movement aiming at national independence, democracy, social equality and national development.

RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM EARLY PHASE 1858-1905

Nationalism is a phenomenon which appeared in world history after the close of the Middle Ages. Nationalism, was the result of new social and economic forces, which had put an end to feudalism. Nation-states had begun to be formed with definite boundaries, with a definite political system within these boundaries, with the uniformity of laws and with the people inhabiting the state living under the same political, social and economic system and sharing common aspirations. The middle class had played a significant role in the formation of nation-states. In many countries of Europe, like Italy and Germany, nationalism emerged as a powerful force only in the nineteenth century. The French Revolution of 1789 had added a new element to the phenomenon of nationalism. It identified the nation with the people. This meant that, in a nation, the people were sovereign. Wherever, after 1800 or so, new sovereign states have been called into existence or wherever existing states have experienced a violent or abrupt change of political order, they were best explained as conjunction of these two forces at work —nationalism and democracy.

The growth of Indian nationalism started in the nineteenth century. Political unification of the country, destruction of India's old social and economic system, the beginning of modern trade and industry and the rise of new social classes laid the basis of nationalism. The social and religious reform movements and popular anti-British revolts contributed to the growth of nationalism.

British rule was inimical to the interests of almost all sections of Indian society. The peasants were suffering under the new land-tenure systems introduced by the British. The Indian industrialists were not happy because of the economic policy of the British government. For example, all import duties on cotton textiles were removed in 1882 which harmed the nascent Indian textile industry. The educated people suffered because they were discriminated against. Almost all sections of Indian society realized that their interests were antagonistic to British rule. The people of India became aware of the fact that the development of their country was not possible unless British rule was ended. All these factors forged the people of India into a nation, and this consciousness expressed itself in the struggle for national independence.

Several other factors helped in the growth of national consciousness amongst Indian people. The exploitation of India by the British rulers and the dislocation caused by their policies worsened the condition of the already impoverished masses. There was a series of famines, which took a toll of millions of human lives, due to the indifference of the autocratic British administration. The British government made use of Indian resources to pursue its imperialist

aims in other parts of Asia. The Governor-General (now also the Viceroy) was the supreme authority in the country, responsible only to British parliament thousands of miles away. He was assisted by executive and legislative councils, which consisted of persons, mostly Englishmen, appointed by him. Indian people had no say in the administration of the country. The Indian Civil Service, which ran the administration of the country, also consisted mostly of Englishmen. Though Indians could appear for competitive examinations, it was difficult for them to get selected. The examinations were held in England and few could afford to appear for them.

Another factor was the practice of racial discrimination. Before the revolt of 1857, many Englishmen, officials and others, were not averse to mixing socially with Indians. After the revolt, the feeling of racial superiority grew and everything Indian appeared inferior and barbaric to them. There were exclusive clubs and railway coaches for Europeans where the entry of Indians was prohibited. As Jawaharlal Nehru put it, "India as a nation and Indians as individuals were subjected to insult, humiliation and contemptuous treatment." The feeling of racial superiority may be seen from the failure of the Ilbert Bill in 1883. The bill sought to bring Indians and Europeans on par as far as the criminal jurisdiction of courts was concerned and to withdraw the privilege enjoyed by Europeans of being tried by a judge of their own race only. The Europeans launched an agitation against the bill and it was withdrawn.

The British government consistently followed a policy of repression after 1857. Many measures of the government provoked widespread agitation. Two of these were the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 and the Arms Act of 1879. The former Act imposed severe restrictions on the freedom of the Press and the latter forbade the possession of arms by Indians.

Thus, various factors contributed to the rise of the nationalist movement. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the movement started assuming an all-India form. Beginning with the demand for small concessions, the nationalist movement became a movement for complete independence of India. The American War of Independence, the French Revolution, the wars of Italian unification and the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine and of Garibaldi and Mazzini (who were the leaders of the struggle for Italian unification) provided inspiration to Indian nationalists. In the twentieth century, the ideas of socialism and internationalism influenced them.

Early Political Movements and the Indian National Congress

A number of political organizations came into existence in the later half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1851, the British Indian Association was formed in Bengal to represent Indian grievances to the British government. In 1876, Surendranath Banerjea founded the Indian Association in Bengal. Dadabhai Naoroji had started the Bombay Association. Some of the other associations were the Madras Native Association formed in 1852, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Madras Mahajana Sabha set up in 1870 and 1884, respectively. Attempts were made to form an all-India organization. In 1883, Surendranath Banerjea called an All-India National Conference which was described by its President as the first step to a National Parliament. In 1885 was founded the Indian National Congress. In the founding of

Surendranath Banerjea

the Congress, a retired English civil servant, A.O. Hume, played an important part. The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, blessed the Congress. He thought the Congress would be a good forum for the government to keep itself 'informed regarding the best Indian public opinion.' Soon, however, the Congress was to become a revolutionary organization leading the Indian people to independence.

Even at the first session of the Congress, held in Bombay, under the Presidentship of W.C. Bonnerjee, all regions of India were represented. Persons attending the session belonged to different religious faiths. The problems that were discussed concerned all Indians, irrespective of their religion, caste, language and region. Thus the Indian nationalist movement, which the Congress represented, was from the start, an all-India secular movement embracing every section of Indian society. It was attended by such eminent persons as Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, W.C. Bonnerjee, G. Subramanya Aiyer, P. Ananda Charlu, Behramji Malabari and N.G. Chandavarkar.

The Congress followed a moderate programme during the first few years of its coming into existence. The aim of the Congress, as outlined by its President, W.C. Bonnerjee, was to 'enable the workers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other' and to unite the people of India for common political ends irrespective of 'differences in respect of race and language, or social and religious institutions'. The Congress held its session once a year and passed resolutions for the consideration of the government. They demanded not independence but representative institutions. Some of the early demands of the Congress were for elected representatives in the provincial and central legislative councils, holding of the Indian Civil Service examinations in India and raising the minimum age of entry, the reduction of military expenditure, the spread of education, industrial development of India, relief in agricultural indebtedness, and the amendment of the Arms Act.

The leadership of the Congress, which included leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, M.G. Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, R.C. Dutt and Pherozeshah Mehta, had faith in the justness of their demands and in the British government.

They believed that, as soon as the British government was convinced of the justness of their demands, these would be accepted. They wanted not separation but association with Britain. Surendranath Banerjea, for example, said: "It is not severance that we look forward to but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire that has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions". However, criticism of the government gradually increased at the sessions of the Congress and more radical demands were made. At the second session of the Congress, one speaker said, "Self-government is the arbiter of nature and the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be the arbiter of its destiny. But do we govern ourselves? No. Are we not living then in an unnatural state? Yes." With the growth of these radical ideas in the Congress, the government became hostile to it. Government servants were barred from attending the Congress sessions. Lord Dufferin referred to it contemptuously as representing a 'microscopic minority' and being unworthy of attention.

In the early period, the Congress was dominated by what were called 'moderates'. Its demands were primarily the demands of the educated middle class and rising Indian industrialists. However, it played an extremely significant role in the early stages of the growth of the Indian nationalist movement. Its emphasis on national unity, its criticism of the drain of Indian wealth, its demand for representative institutions and Indianization of services, its opposition to repressive measures like the Arms Act and its constant underscoring of people's poverty as the basic factor of Indian politics helped to put the nationalist movement on sound foundations. This phase of the movement lasted till about 1905.

INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT 1905-1919

Even the moderate demands of the Congress were not accepted by British rulers. The non-fulfilment of demands, combined with the rising awareness among the people led to the growth of a radical wing in the Congress which advanced the movement further. A new phase began in the history of the Indian nationalist movement. New demands were made and new methods of struggle adopted with increased mass mobilization.

Rise of Extremism

At the turn of the century, a new trend developed which has been called `extremism'. Under the influence of the new trend, the nationalist movement gave up the practice of merely issuing appeals to the government and adopted new radical ways of political agitation The demands put forward also assumed a more radical character. Several new factors contributed to this.

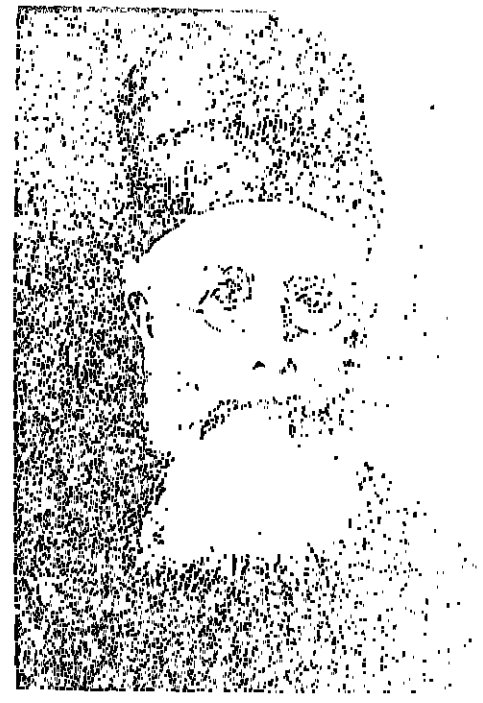
Curzon came to India as the new Viceroy in December 1898. During his period of Viceroyalty, he imposed extremely unpopular measures which intensified the opposition to British rule. He had said that he would assist in the 'peaceful demise' of the Congress. When he left India, the Congress and the nationalist movement were stronger than ever before and had, in fact, assumed new dimensions.

His most unpopular act was the partition of Bengal. The object of the measure was given out as administrative convenience. The leaders could clearly see that it

was actually a measure to divide the people. East Bengal was to be a Muslim majority province and the West a Hindu majority province. The partition was designed to disrupt Hindu-Muslim unity and thus weaken the nationalist movement. However, the effect of the measure belied the hopes of the British government. It provoked an agitation and such angry reaction against British rule that the partition measure had to be annulled.

International events also contributed to the growth of vigorous nationalism. Russia was defeated by Japan in 1905. This was the first victory of an Asian nation over an European nation. Although Japan herself was turning into an imperialist power and the war had been fought for imperialist gains in China, Japan's victory gave confidence to the Indian nationalists in their struggle against Britain. The defeat of Russia was followed by the 1905 Revolution in Russia about which you have read. The revolution had aimed at the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy but had been suppressed. This revolution also influenced the thinking of Indian nationalists.

The group which led the 'extremists' in the Congress consisted of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. It was usually referred to as 'Lal Bal Pal'. They extolled the past of India in order to inculcate self-confidence and national pride in the Indian people. Tilak had been active in the Congress since 1890. In 1897 he was prosecuted and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for his 'seditious' writings and speeches. As you have read earlier, he had started a paper, *Kesari*, in Marathi through which he conducted his nationalist campaigns. He revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals and made use of them for arousing national



Dadabhai Naoroji

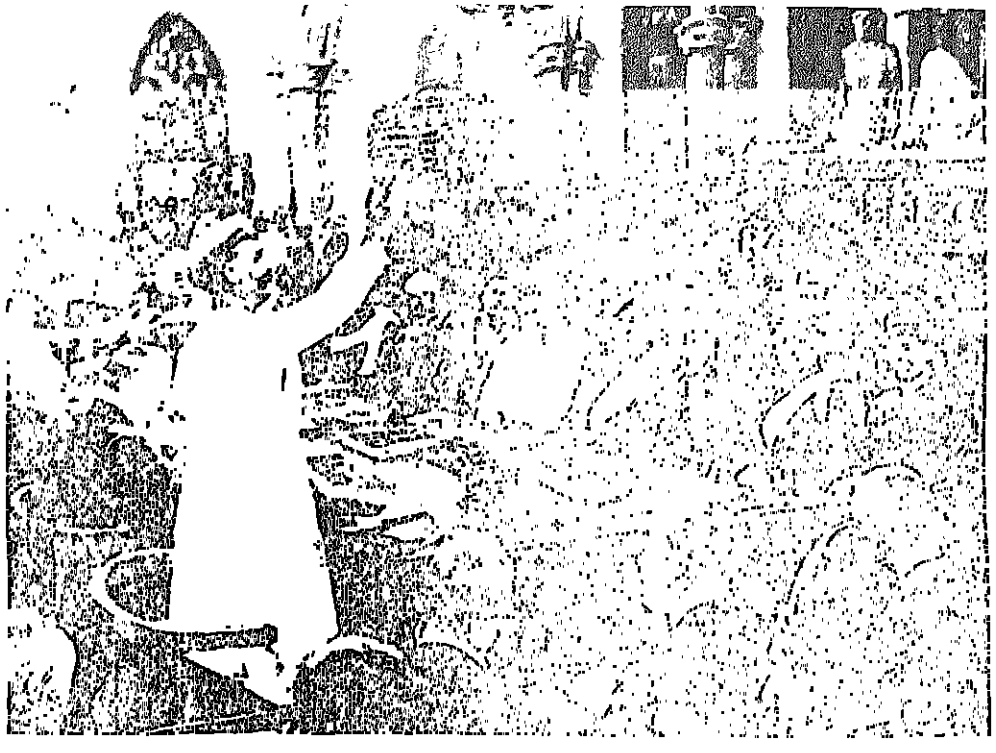
feelings. He exhorted people to action which, according to him, was the true message of the *Bhagavad Gita*. In this period, the 'extremist' wing came to be more and more concerned with arousing pride in Indian culture. In Bengal, the cult of the goddess Kali was adopted. The 'extremists' condemned the old leadership of the Congress for their praise of Western culture and their faith in the British government.

There was a wide divergence between the views of the 'extremists' and the 'moderates' on the means to achieve political rights. Tilak summed up the difference thus: "Political rights will have to be fought for. The moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be got by strong pressure". The

'extremist' leaders drew masses into the struggle, particularly in urban areas. The mobilization of the people, particularly the youth, for the struggle was a major contribution of the 'extremists'.

The Boycott and Swadeshi Movements

The partition of Bengal created widespread indignation all over the country. In the turbulent atmosphere that followed, the boycott and the Swadeshi movements started. Swadeshi, literally meaning 'of one's own country', aimed at the promotion of indigenous industries. Along with Swadeshi, boycott of British goods was organized. The Swadeshi and boycott were powerful instruments directed against foreign rule. They attacked the British rule where it hurt most. About Swadeshi, Lajpat Rai said: "I regard it as the salvation of my country. The Swadeshi movement ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting and last, not least, manly. The Swadeshi movement ought to teach us how to organize our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents for the greatest good of all Indians irrespective of creed, colour or caste. It ought to unite us, our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding. In my opinion, Swadeshi ought to be the common religion of the United India." On the boycott move-



Bal Gangadhar Tilak addressing the jury during his trial in 1908 — a painting. He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment at this trial.

ment, he said, "The meaning of the boycott is this.... The primary thing is prestige of the government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige. The illusory thing they call prestige is more powerful and potent than authority itself and we propose to do this by boycott.... We desire to turn away our faces from the Government House and turn them to the huts of people".

It was at the height of nation-wide protest movement against the partition of Bengal that the annual session of the Congress was held at Calcutta in 1906. At this session Dadabhai Naoroji sponsored the new programme of the Congress which had been advocated by the 'extremists'. Dadabhai's support for the stewardship of the programme led to its general approval. For the first time, it declared the attainment of Swaraj as the aim of the Congress. Swaraj or self-government was defined as the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies. The Swadeshi and the boycott movements were favoured as the means of resistance. Promotion of national education was declared as an aim of the Congress.

The Swadeshi and boycott movements spread to many parts of the country. Shops selling foreign goods were picketed. Students played an important part in the Swadeshi and boycott movements. Meetings were held all over the country and associations were formed. The government resorted to repressive measures. Meetings were banned, the chanting of the national song *Bande Mataram* composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was prohibited, recognition was withdrawn from schools and grants were stopped, processionists were lathi-charged and various attempts were made to strike terror in the people. However, all the measures of oppression were of no avail. The popular upheaval was so intense that many people came to believe that the end of British rule was near. It was at this time that Tilak wrote: "Repression is repression; if it is legal, it must be resisted peacefully; but if it is illegal, it must be illegally met". He also gave Congress the slogan "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it". The movement continued into the year 1907. The nationalist newspapers were banned and their editors prosecuted. Many leaders were imprisoned.

In 1907, the 23rd session of the Congress was held at Surat. Here the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' came into conflict. The 'moderates' wanted to modify the resolutions on Swadeshi and boycott passed at the Calcutta session in the previous year. They also wanted to write into the constitution of the Congress a clause that self-government was to be achieved through constitutional means and by reforming the existing system of administration. They were opposed to the intensification of the movement. Tilak tried to capture the leadership of the Congress. There ensued disorderly scenes and the session broke up. The two groups later met separately. Leadership of the Congress remained in the hands of the 'moderate' group. The 'extremists' worked separately until the reunion in 1916.

Meanwhile the repressive measures of the government continued. The repression was particularly brutal in Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. In 1907 the Seditious Meetings Act was passed to prevent the holding of meetings 'likely to promote disturbance of public tranquillity'. In 1910, the Indian Press Act was passed which gave the authorities wide powers to punish the editor of any paper

'which published matter which in their view was incitement to rebellion'. The government deported people without trial under a century-old law. A number of papers were banned and leaders imprisoned and deported. Tilak was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and deported to Mandalay for two articles which he had published in his paper *Kesari*. His arrest was widely resented and led to one of the earliest strikes in the history of India by the textile workers of Bombay.

Thus in the first decade of the twentieth century, the nationalist movement entered a new phase. More and more people were drawn into it, and they were no longer satisfied by appeals to the government. The association of religion with the movements in some places encouraged communal thinking and proved harmful.

Morley-Minto Reforms

In 1909, the government announced the Morley-Minto Reforms to conciliate the 'moderate' nationalists. In 1861, six non-official members had been added to the legislative council. The council had no powers and only considered matters which were referred to it. The Indian members who were nominated were drawn from the families of princes and big landlords. By the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the membership of the central and the provincial legislative councils was enlarged and non-official Indian members were added. As a result of the movement following the partition of Bengal, the Morley-Minto Reforms introduced further changes in 1909. As usual, the new measures were too little and too late. The memberships of the central and provincial legislative councils were enlarged and a few more elected members were added. However, the elected members were not popularly elected. They were elected by landlords and chambers of commerce. Separate electorates were introduced for the Muslims. The introduction of separate electorates was a calculated move in accord with the imperialist policy of 'divide and rule'. Communalism was openly introduced into Indian political life.

The councils had no real powers and were not popularly elected bodies. The 'moderate' leadership welcomed the reforms as constituting an advance but expressed 'its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorate on the basis of religion.' The reforms were condemned by the 'extremists'. Many Muslim leaders condemned the separate electorates. Gradually, even the 'moderate' leaders of the Congress realized the inadequacy and, in some respects, the harmful nature of the reforms. At the session of the Congress in 1909, one delegate said: "We protest against it because it means the partition of the whole living India, an affair much more serious than the partition of the boundaries of Bengal."

The reforms were not meant to be a step in the direction of self-government for Indians. Morley, Secretary of State, who had framed the reforms along with Minto, the Governor-General who had succeeded Curzon, disclaimed any intention of bestowing self-government on India. He said that if these reforms 'led directly or indirectly to the establishment of the Parliamentary System in India, I for one would have nothing to do with it'.

Revolutionary Movement

Along with the open political movements, there arose in the first decade of the twentieth century various revolutionary groups

in different parts of the country. These early revolutionaries, active mainly in Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Punjab, had no faith in constitutional agitations. They believed that by terrorizing British officials, they would be able to demoralize the entire machinery of the government and bring about freedom. After the government suppressed almost all open political agitation and imprisoned a large number of nationalist leaders, the activities of the revolutionary groups were intensified.

The revolutionary groups organized assassination of unpopular police officials, magistrates and approvers, committed dacoities to collect money for their activities and looted arms. Attempts were made on the lives of two Viceroys, Minto and Hardinge. Such movements were organized outside India, in Europe and America also. Of these, the most prominent was the Ghadar (meaning `mutiny') party. These movements collected money for use by revolutionaries in India, tried to smuggle arms into India and fomented mutinies of Indian soldiers in India as well as those stationed in Burma and Singapore. Although the methods of individual terrorism could not be effective against a mighty empire, the heroism and self-sacrifice of these revolutionaries were a source of inspiration to the people and helped in the growth of popular nationalist feelings.

Formation of the Muslim League

After the Revolt of 1857, the British government followed a policy of 'divide and rule'. Elphinstone had frankly said, " 'Divide et impera' was the old Roman motto, as it should be ours." In the beginning, Muslims were discriminated against. They were kept out of the army and the services. However, when the nationalist movement arose, the policy of the government underwent a change. The government branded the Congress as a Hindu movement and encouraged the upper class Muslims to start their own separate organizations against the Congress. When the partition of Bengal led to a united protest movement, Curzon himself toured eastern Bengal and addressed Muslims on the advantages that would accrue to them as a majority community in East Bengal. However, at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, a large number of Muslim delegates participated. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who later led the movement for a separate state of Pakistan, was also present. He moved an amendment opposing reservation of seats, which was accepted. Moving the amendment, he said: "The foundation upon which the Indian National Congress is based is that we are all equal, that there should be no reservation for any class or any community, and my whole object is that the reservation should be deleted".

However, in spite of the fact that many Muslims had joined the united nationalist movement, the influence of the communal elements among Muslims became strong. Many leaders still looked for concessions from the government to promote the interests of the newly emerging middle class and upper class economic interests. The leadership feared that, by opposing the British government, the Muslim middle and upper class economic interests would suffer. Another reason was the suspicion which the Hindu revivalism associated with some `extremist' leaders of the Congress had created in the Muslims.

The encouragement given by the government to upper class Muslims and thus to communal politics is evident from the events which led to the formation of the Muslim League. On 1 October, 1906, a Muslim delegation led by the Agha Khan

met Governor-General Minto at Shimla. The Agha Khan, the religious head of a Muslim sect, was an exceedingly wealthy person. He led a life of luxury, mostly in Europe. Another important leader was Nawab Salimullah of Dacca (now Dhaka). The Governor-General encouraged the deputationists and within three months, on 30 December 1906, the Muslim League was formed. The objects of the League were:

(a) to promote amongst the Mussalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of the government with regard to any of its measures,

(b) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of Mussalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to the government,

(c) to prevent the rise among Mussalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

However, in spite of the 'promotion ... of loyalty' by the Muslim League, more and more Muslims were drawn into the nationalist movement. In 1912, Abul Kalam Azad founded the *Al Hilal* and Maulana Mohamed Ali started the *Comrade* in English and *Hamdard* in Urdu. These papers started by eminent nationalists carried on their advocacy of the popular cause and infused the masses with their fervour. The Muslim League also, in 1913, adopted the goal of self-government for India. In 1913 Jinnah joined the Muslim League. He did so to 'bring the policy of the League into line with the progressive and national aims of the Congress'. The outbreak of the war brought the Muslim masses into the nationalist movement on an even greater scale.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Nationalist Movement during the First World War

When the First World War broke out, the British government declared India an ally and a belligerent. Indian people and Indian resources were used for fighting the war. The strength of the Indian army was raised to 1,500,000 and compulsory recruitment of Indians was resorted to. Millions of pounds were taken from India to be used by the British government for its war expenditure. Indian soldiers were sent to fight in far-off lands.

A large number of Muslims were drawn

into the anti-British struggle during the war. British imperialism was inimical to the Turkish empire which was ruled by the Caliph (Khalifa). The defence of the Caliphate (Khilafat) became an important question for Muslims in many countries. Muslims in India were also drawn into the movement for the defence of Turkey and against the British. Peasant unrest also grew during the war years and peasant movements during this period helped prepare the ground for a mass movement. The nationalist movement grew strong during the war years. Tilak was released in 1914 and in 1916, he formed the Home Rule League. Annie Besant formed another Home Rule League a few months later. In 1916 at the Lucknow session of the Congress, the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' were united. Equally significant was the unity between the Congress and the Muslim League achieved at Lucknow in 1916. According to the pact, the Congress and the League agreed to join their efforts to demand (i) that a majority of the members of the Legislative Councils be elected; (ii) that the Legislative Councils be invested with wider powers than heretofore; (iii) that at least half the seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council be filled by Indians. The Lucknow Pact, as the Congress-Muslim League united programme was called, was an important achievement.

Meanwhile the Home Rule campaign was being intensified. Many 'moderate' leaders like Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das came out in support of Home Rule. Repressive measures followed. The papers mentioned before, *Al Hilal, Comrade and Hamdard,* were banned. Annie Besant was interned, and her paper, *New India,* was forfeited. The government action enraged the people. Protesting against the repression, C.R. Das said: "I do not think the God of humanity was crucified only once. Every outrage on humanity at the hands of tyrants and oppressors is a fresh nail driven through his sacred flesh."

The statement of the Secretary of State after the outbreak of war that 'the goal of the British policy is progressive realization of responsible government in India' prompted many nationalist leaders, including Gandhiji, to support the British war campaign in the hope of attaining self-government after the war. Gandhiji later said: "In all these efforts at service, I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality for my countrymen." The reforms that were announced at the end of the war came as a disappointment. The resulting frustration led to an unprecedented upsurge of nationalist sentiments.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT BECOMES A MASS MOVEMENT, 1919-1927

Gandhiji's Leadership

The nationalist movement grew into a widespread mass anti-imperialist movement at the end of the war. Many factors contributed to this development. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came into prominence at this time and became the undisputed leader of the nationalist movement. After studying law in England, he had gone to South Africa to start his legal practice. In the struggle against the discriminatory and racialist policy of the government of South Africa, he perfected his philosophy of action. It consisted of non-violent resistance and, when applied to the Indian scene, it served to bring millions of people into the movement for Swaraj. Powerful mass

movements were launched under his leadership. These involved defiance of laws, peaceful demonstrations, boycott of courts, stoppage of work, boycott of educational institutions, picketing of shops selling liquor and foreign goods, non-payment of taxes and the closing of vital business. These non-violent but no less revolutionary methods influenced millions of people belonging to all sections of society and infused in them bravery and self-confidence. Millions now braved the repression resorted to by the government, boldly courted imprisonment and faced lathicharges and firings. Gandhiji lived the simple life of an ascetic and talked to the people in a language they could understand. He came to be known to the people of India as Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhiji made social reform a part of the programme of the nationalist movement. His greatest achievement in the field of social reform was the campaign against the inhuman institution of untouchability which had degraded millions of Indians. His other achievement was in the field of cottage industries. He saw in the charkha, the spinning wheel, the salvation of the village people, and its promotion became a part of the Congress programme. In addition to infusing people with the spirit of nationalism, it provided employment to millions and created a large group of people who were ready to throw themselves into the struggle and court imprisonment. The charkha became so important that it eventually became a part of the flag of the Indian National Congress.

Gandhiji devoted himself to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. He regarded communalism as anti-national and inhuman. Under his leadership the unity of the nationalist movement was secured and the people of India marched on in their quest for independence.

Consequences of the War and Repressive Measures

Apart from Gandhiji's leadership, several other factors led to the growth of nationalist movement into a mass movement. The war expenditure imposed on India had further impoverished the masses. The spread of influenza epidemic took a huge toll of human lives. The war was followed by an upsurge of nationalism in many countries. Three autocracies had been overthrown —Hohenzollern in Germany, Habsburg in Austria and Romanov in Russia. The fall of autocracies had a healthy effect on the political climate of the world. Indian nationalist leaders were also deeply influenced by the Russian Revolution. The Soviet government of Russia proclaimed the right of subject nations to independence and gave up the imperialist gains which the Czarist regime had acquired. All these developments influenced the consciousness of the Indian people and inspired them to plunge themselves into the nationalist struggle with greater vigour.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which became the Government of India Act in 1919, clearly defined the jurisdiction of the central and provincial governments. The central legislature now consisted of two houses with elected majorities. However, the franchise was limited and the legislature had no real powers. In the provinces, a system called 'dyarchy' was introduced. There were elected majorities in the legislative councils, the franchise being based on property qualifications and communal electorates. There were certain provincial subjects which were under the jurisdiction of the legislative councils but the

governors had wide powers of interference and the legislatures were, for all practical purposes, powerless. The reforms introduced were a far cry from the aim of Swaraj and were condemned both by the Congress and the League. The reforms further angered the masses and were condemned as unsatisfactory.

The defeat of Turkey in the war and the dismemberment of the Turkish empire angered the Muslim masses and led to an outburst of popular feeling against the British government.

The British government resorted to repressive measures. In 1919, the Rowlatt Act was passed in spite of being opposed by all Indian members of the legislative council. The Act authorized the government to imprison people without trial. Three Indian members—Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Mazharul Haque — resigned from the council in protest. The Rowlatt Act aroused a wave of popular indignation and led to the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh. All the repressive measures, however, only added fuel to the fire of nationalism.

The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh

The Rowlatt Act came into effect in March 1919. Voices from all over the country swelled the chorus of protest. On 6 April, there were strikes, hartals, and demonstrations at many places. In Punjab, the protest movement was particularly strong. The government resorted to lathi-charge and firing in many places. On 10 April, two outstanding leaders of the Congress, Dr Satya Pal and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, were arrested and taken to an unknown place. To protest against the arrests, a public meeting was held on 13 April in Jallianwala Bagh, a small park enclosed by buildings on all sides, in Amritsar. General Dyer with his British troops entered the park, closed the only exit and, without giving any warning, ordered the troops to fire. The meeting had been peaceful and there had been no provocation. Among those who had come to the meeting were women, children and old persons. The firing lasted about 10 minutes and about 1600 rounds were fired. As the exit, which was a narrow passage, had been closed, no one was allowed to escape. After some time, Dyer left with his troops. About 1000 dead, according to unofficial estimates, and about 2000 wounded persons lay unattended to in the Bagh. The monstrous act provoked unparalleled indignation throughout the country.

Dyer's 'unexampled act of brutality' and 'deliberately calculated massacre' shocked the conscience of many Englishmen.

Immediately after the massacre, martial law was declared throughout Punjab and a reign of terror was let loose. However, the terror failed to crush the movement and the 'moral effect' which Dyer hoped to create failed to materialize. Soon the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation movements broke out.

Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements

The Khilafat movement was organized by the famous Ali brothers, Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, and others in protest against the injustice done to Turkey after the war. In fact, it became a part of the Indian nationalist movement. The Congress leaders joined in the Khilafat agitation and helped in organizing it throughout the country.

In 1920, the Congress adopted the new

programme of non-violent Non-Cooperation under the leadership of Gandhiji. The aims of the Non-Cooperation movement were to redress the wrongs done to Punjab and Turkey, and the attainment of Swaraj. It was to proceed in stages, beginning with the renunciation of titles, to be followed by the boycott of the legislatures, law courts and educational institutions and the campaign of non-payment of taxes.

It was decided to organize a corps of 150,000 volunteers to carry on the campaign of Non-Cooperation.

The Non-Cooperation movement was a great success. In the elections to the legislatures, about two-thirds of voters did not vote. Educational institutions were deserted. A new programme of national education was started. Such institutions as the Jamia Millia and the Kashi Vidya Peeth were established. Many Indians resigned their government jobs. Foreign cloth was burnt in bonfires. There were strikes all over the country. In Malabar, the Moplah rebellion broke out. Hindus and Muslims participated in the movement as one, and scenes of fraternization were witnessed all over the country. Amongst the Sikhs, there was a movement to dislodge the pro-government and corrupt mahants from gurudwaras. Thousands of persons enrolled themselves as volunteers. In the midst of the movement, the Prince of Wales arrived in India. On the day of his arrival on

Delegates to Indian National Congress session held at Amritsar in December 1919. Seated on chair, right to left, are: Madan Mohan Malaviya, Annie Besant, Swami Shradhanand, Motilal Nehru (President), Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others. Sitting on the ground, left to right, are: Jawaharlal Nehru, S.Satyamurti and others

17 November 1921, he was 'greeted' by general strikes and demonstrations. At many places, police resorted to firing at the demonstrators. The repression continued and by the end of the year all the top leaders with the exception of Gandhiji were arrested. By the beginning of 1922, about 30,000 persons were in jail.

At the height of the Non-Cooperation movement and the repressive measures of the British government, the annual session of the Congress was held at Ahmedabad in December 1921. The Congress, under the Presidentship of Hakim Ajmal Khan, decided to continue the movement until the Punjab and Khilafat grievances were redressed and Swaraj attained. The mood of the people can be gauged from the fact that, at this session, many people were no longer satisfied with the slogan of Swaraj which did not mean complete independence. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, an eminent nationalist leader and a leading Urdu poet, proposed that Swaraj should be defined as 'Complete Independence free from all foreign control'. The proposal was not accepted but it showed the dynamics of political consciousness at work in the people.

Early in February, Gandhiji decided to launch a no-tax campaign in Bardoli district in Gujarat. However, in Chauri Chaura (in Uttar Pradesh) people turned violent and set fire to a police station causing the death of 22 policemen. When the news reached Gandhiji, he decided to call off the Non-Cooperation movement. The Work-

Seated on chair, right to left are : Mohamed Ali, Bharti Krishna Tirathji (Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth) and Shaukat Ali. Seated on the ground is Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew. They were tried in 1921 at Karachi and Ali Brothers and Dr Kitchlew were sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

ing Committee of the Congress met on 12 February 1922 and decided to concentrate on the popularization of charkha, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and combating of untouchability.

Those leaders of the Congress who were in jail were unhappy to learn that the movement had been called off. Gandhiji himself was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. However, he was released within two years and started his constructive programme for the popularization of charkha, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and combating of untouchability. He also took up the cause of the promotion of national education. A section of the Congress led by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das formed the Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party and decided to participate in the elections to the various legislative bodies which had been boycotted earlier, and to wreck them from within until the demands of the people were met. Subsequently, some of them, led by Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lajpat Rai opposed the policy of wrecking the councils from within and decided to offer Responsive Cooperation to the government.

Communalism and its Dangerous Effects

An unfortunate development after the calling off of the Non-Cooperation movement was the growth of communal tension and the occurrence of communal riots. Movements of *tabligh* and *shuddhi* were started which resulted in the growth of communal tension. The *tabligh* movement was started by Muslim communalists to promote conversion to Islam. The *shuddhi* movement was started by Hindu communalists to reconvert to Hinduism persons who had been converted to other religions. Communalism implied the starting of political movements in the name of promoting the interests of one's own community and protesting against the real or imaginary advantages enjoyed by other communities. It was based on the view that the political, economic, social and cultural interests of the people belonging to different religious communities were not only separate and different from one another but also antagonistic to one another.

However, the communal parties did not advance the interests of their communities. The interests of one community could not be separated from the interests of the entire nation. The communal parties were not concerned with the freedom of the country but wanted to get concessions for the upper classes of their communities. You have already read about the Muslim League which cut itself off from the Congress in the 1920s and started pursuing its communal demands. Meanwhile, several Hindu communal organizations had also been formed. The most important of these was the Hindu Mahasabha which had been formed in 1915. It demanded special privileges for Hindus in provinces where they were in a minority just as the Muslim League demanded special privileges for Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority. Both played into the hands of British imperialism.

These tendencies hampered the nationalist movement. They diverted the attention of people from the need for independence from foreign rule. The communalists belonging to various communities had many things in common. They attached more importance to getting more seats in the legislatures than to the independence of the country. Both looked up to the British rulers for patronage. They did not concern themselves with questions affecting the

common people —poverty, social reforms and equality. They were concerned only with the rights and privileges of the upper classes of their community and were united in their opposition to radical social reforms and changes.

Communal thinking also influenced some sections among the Sikhs. Various caste organizations in different parts of the country also played a disruptive role similar to the one played by the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communal organizations.

Many communal riots occurred in various parts of the country as a result of the activities of communal organizations and the encouragement they received from the British government.

Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru in Calcutta in 1937

FROM SWARAJ TO COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE, 1927-1939

After the calling off of the Non-Cooperation movement, for a few years there were no nation-wide political campaigns or agitations and the constructive programme of Gandhiji was taken up. But soon this lull was over. The Congress adopted the slogan of Complete Independence and a mighty movement known as the Civil Disobedience movement was launched to achieve it. The nationalist movement now assumed a wider character and adopted a comprehensive programme for the social and economic reconstruction of Indian society once independence was attained. Thus the struggle for political independence became a prerequisite for the reconstruction of Indian society.

Next to Gandhiji, the central figure in the new phase of the nationalist movement was Jawaharlal Nehru. After receiving his education in England, Jawaharlal returned to India in 1912. Soon he came under the spell of Gandhiji and threw himself into the nationalist struggle. His contact with the peasants of Uttar Pradesh, which he developed in the 1920s aroused the deepest emotions in him and made him a life-long champion of the oppressed. He wrote about his experience: "I was filled with shame and sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture of India seemed to arise before me, naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable." This 'discovery of India' made his nationalist thinking all the more intense, and national independence and the struggle to improve people's condition became one to him. In December 1921, he was arrested along with Motilal Nehru, his father, and other nationalist leaders. He was released for a few weeks, then re-arrested and again released early in 1923. Then he went to Nabha, which was a princely state, to observe the demonstration of Akali Sikhs against the corrupt mahants. He was arrested and sentenced after the pretence of

a trial. His experience of Nabha opened his eyes to the other India, the India ruled by the Indian princes. It was no better than British rule and, in many respects, even worse. He became the champion of the rights of the people of the princely states. Within a few years, the movement of the people of these states against the oppression by their rulers became an integral part of the nationalist movement. He became one of the general secretaries of the Congress when Maulana Mohamed Ali was the President.

Another important leader to rise in this period was Subhas Chandra Bose. Educated at Calcutta and Cambridge, he was selected to the Indian Civil Service but, instead, plunged himself into the nationalist struggle. He organized student and youth associations throughout the country for the strengthening of the nationalist movement and, in 1924, was arrested on the charge of organizing terrorist activities. Jawaharlal and Subhas became the leaders of the radical wing in the nationalist movement and the idols of youth all over the country.

The Simon Commission

In November 1927, the British government appointed the Simon Commission to look into the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 and to suggest changes. The Commission consisted of Englishmen without a single Indian representative. Also its terms of reference did not hold out hopes of anything remotely like Swaraj.

At the Congress session at Madras in

A contemporary illustration depicting the police assault on demonstrators led by Lala Lajpat Rai, protesting against the Simon Commission at Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai died of the injuries suffered by him during the assault.

December 1927, a resolution calling for Complete Independence was passed. This was the first time that a resolution demanding complete independence had been passed by the Congress. By another resolution, it was decided to boycott the Simon Commission.

The Commission arrived in India in February 1928 and was met with a country-wide hartal. Even the majority of the members of the Central Legislative Assembly boycotted the Commission. Anti-Simon Committees were formed all over the country to organize demonstrations and hartals wherever the Commission went. Peaceful demonstrators were beaten up by the police at many places. Lala Lajpat Rai was assaulted and soon after died. Govind Ballabh Pant received a lathi blow which disabled him for life.

Two other events aroused popular resentment in this period. In March 1929, 31 labour leaders were arrested on the charge of conspiracy. The leaders included three Englishmen who had helped in the organization of the workers' movement in India. They were taken to Meerut and were tried. The trial which lasted four years is known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Many defence committees were formed all over the country and even in England and other foreign countries. The nationalist leaders provided legal defence to the accused. Some of them were acquitted while others were convicted. The workers' organizations had been growing and played an active part in the nationalist movement. Many British socialists helped in organizing the workers. The British government got scared, and in 1929 issued the Public Safety Ordinance to remove from India persons it considered 'British and foreign communist agents'. The government had also enacted a law to curb trade union activities.

Another case is known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case. After the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, there had been a revival of revolutionary activities. Four revolutionaries, including Ram Prasad Bismil and Ashfaqulla, belonging to the Hindustan Republican Association had been hanged after their trial under the Kakori Conspiracy case. In 1928, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and others had founded a new revolutionary organization called the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association. On 8 April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt went to the Central Legislative Assembly and threw a bomb at government benches and raised slogans of 'Long Live the Revolution'. There were no casualties and probably none was intended. Bhagat Singh and Dutt surrendered and were taken into custody. Many other members of the association were arrested later and a bomb workshop unearthed. Except for Chandra Shekhar Azad (who was later killed in an encounter with the police), all the prominent members were arrested and charged with the murder of the Superintendent of Police of Lahore also. The prisoners were brutally treated in jail. Jatin Das died after a hunger strike lasting 64 days. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukh Dev were later sentenced to death. Their execution aroused a wave of indignation all over the country.

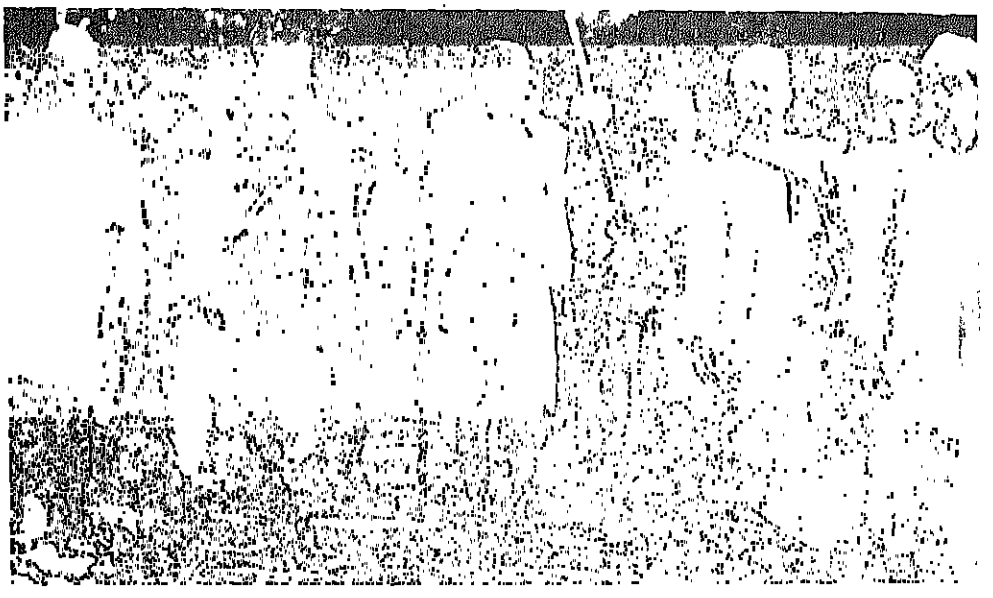
Lahore Congress and the Civil Disobedience Movement

In December 1929, the Congress session was held at Lahore with Jawaharlal Nehru as the President. The Congress declared the attainment of Complete Independence as its aim and decided to launch a Civil Disobedience movement under the leader-

ship of Gandhiji. It was decided to celebrate 26 January as the Independence Day all over the country. On 26 January 1930, meetings were held all over the country and the Congress tricolor was hoisted. The people took the 'Pledge of Independence' at these meetings. The Pledge stated: "The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence. We believe it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is through non-violence. We will, therefore, prepare our selves... for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes."

Because of its significance in the nationalist struggle, 26 January was chosen as the day to mark the birth of the Indian Republic in 1950. So Independence Day of the pre-independence years has become Republic Day in Free India.

The Civil Disobedience movement began with what is known as the Dandi March. Gandhiji, along with 78 of his followers, started from his ashram at Sabarmati on a march to Dandi on the sea-coast on foot and broke the law by making salt. In April, he gave instructions to launch the movement. "Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt, sisters should picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops... Foreign cloth should be



Gandhiji, along with his followers, during his march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi

burnt. Hindus should eschew untouchability... Let students leave government schools and colleges and government servants resign their service... and we shall soon find that Purana Swaraj will come knocking at our doors."

As soon as the Civil Disobedience movement started, all the important leaders including Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested. By the beginning of 1931, 90,000 persons were in jail and 67 papers had been banned. In April and May 1930, three dramatic incidents had taken place. At Peshawar, Indian soldiers refused to open fire on the demonstrators when ordered to do so. In Sholapur, martial law had to be imposed to suppress the mass upsurge. In Chittagong, the revolutionaries captured the armoury and there was a pitched battle between the government troops and the revolutionaries

In January 1931, Gandhiji and some other leaders were released. In March an agreement known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed under which the movement was called off. The government promised to release all political prisoners except those charged with acts of violence. The Congress agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference which had been called to consider a scheme for a new constitution for India.

In 1931, the Congress met at Karachi. It approved the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The most significant contribution of the Karachi session was a resolution it passed on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy. It outlined a plan for the reconstruction of Indian society after independence, and was to furnish many aims and ideals for the Constitution of India and the social and economic policy of the Indian Republic.

The Civil Disobedience movement was revived on Gandhiji's return from the Round Table Conference in London, when Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, declined to grant even an interview to Gandhiji. Gandhiji was arrested. The movement continued for two years. The repression of the government was more severe than it had been before. By April 1933, about 120,000 persons had been imprisoned. In May 1934 the entire Civil Disobedience movement was called off.

The Civil Disobedience movement had involved millions of people, young and old, men and women, people belonging to all regions and communities. The communal organizations, both of Hindus and Muslims, during this period concentrated on getting more seats in the legislatures and refrained from an active role in the independence movement. They had no substantial following and did not seriously affect the course of the movement.

Influence of Socialist Ideas

In 1920 was founded the All India Trade Union Congress. The trade union movement enjoyed the support of many national leaders. Besides working for improvements in the living conditions of workers, it mobilized the workers in the cause of independence.

The peasants were drawn into the nationalist struggle towards the end of the First World War. The economic grievances of the peasants against landlords and the government inevitably drew them into the nationalist struggle. In 1917-18, Gandhiji launched what is known as the Champaran Movement in Bihar against the indigo planters. During the Non-Cooperation movement, peasants all over the country opposed the heavy land revenue they had to pay and this became an integral part of the

struggle for Swaraj. Later on, many peasant organizations were formed. These organizations participated in the struggle for freedom, campaigned against heavy land taxes and advocated the abolition of the zamindari system. Many nationalist leaders led peasant struggles. The participation of peasants in the freedom struggle helped in making it more broad-based and extensive, and land reforms to alleviate the sufferings of the peasants became one of its important aims.

The ideas of socialism also gradually gained ground in the nationalist movement. The Russian Revolution had made a deep impact on the thinking of the nationalist leaders. Many leaders were socialists in their ideological beliefs and advocated the adoption of socialist policies. The most outstanding of these leaders was Jawaharlal Nehru. He had been influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx and other socialist thinkers and had developed close relations with socialist leaders of Europe. He popularized the ideas of socialism and persuaded the Congress to adopt a radical programme of social and economic reconstruction. Although the Congress was not wholly committed to his idea of socialism, his ideas influenced the policies of the nationalist movement with regard to social and economic matters. With the support of Nehru the Congress Socialist Party was formed in 1934. It worked within the Indian National Congress and advocated the convening of a Constituent Assembly to decide the future of India and the establishment of a socialist society. The Communist Party of India had been formed earlier in 1925 and exercised a powerful influence over industrial workers. It wanted the nationalist movement to be based on the economic demands of workers. Many of its later leaders came from the Congress Socialist Party and worked in the Indian National Congress.

The States People's Movement

There were about 600 states in India which were ruled over by Indian princes. They covered about one-third of India's territory and about one-fifth of India's population. Many of these states were so small as to be no more than zamindaris. There were some like Hyderabad, which were large and had a population of several million people. These states were allowed to continue after the Revolt of 1857 though they were at the mercy of the British government. As they owed their existence to the British government, they were loyal supporters of the British rule in India. These states were ruled by the princes in a most authoritarian manner. People suffered from extreme economic and political disabilities in these states. They had no civil rights and no law except that of the ruler and had to perform forced labour. While the people were oppressed, the rulers led opulent and degenerate lives. Any attempt at political, social and economic reform in these states was most ruthlessly put down. The nationalist movement could not be fully national unless it concerned itself also with the liberation of the people of the Indian states from the oppression of their rulers. The Congress for a long time did not pay much heed to the sad plight of these people. However, the people in several states organized themselves and demanded civil rights in the states. In 1927 the All India States People's Conference was formed. The Conference focused the attention of the Indian people all over the country on the conditions prevailing in the states. In a statement, the Conference pointed out: "In

Jawaharlal Nehru being taken in a procession in Ludhiana in 1939. The All India States People's Conference which held its session there was presided over by him.

these states, big or small, with very few exceptions, personal, autocratic rule prevails. There is no rule of law and taxation is excessive and unbearable. Civil liberties are crushed. The privy purse of the rulers is usually not fixed and even where it is fixed, that is not adhered to. On the one hand, there is the extravagance and luxury of the princes; on the other, the extreme poverty of the people.

"With the hard-earned money of the poverty-stricken and miserable people, enjoyment is bought and luxury is flaunted by their rulers in foreign countries and in India. This system cannot continue. No civilized people can tolerate it. The whole argument of history is against it; the temper of the Indian people cannot submit to it."

The Congress gradually veered round to this view and gave recognition to the rights of the people of the states. It declared: "The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. Purna Swaraj or complete independence which is the objective of Congress is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection." Thus the ending of the oppressive rule of the Indian princes became a part of the nationalist movement's programme and the aim of building a united India was firmly laid down.

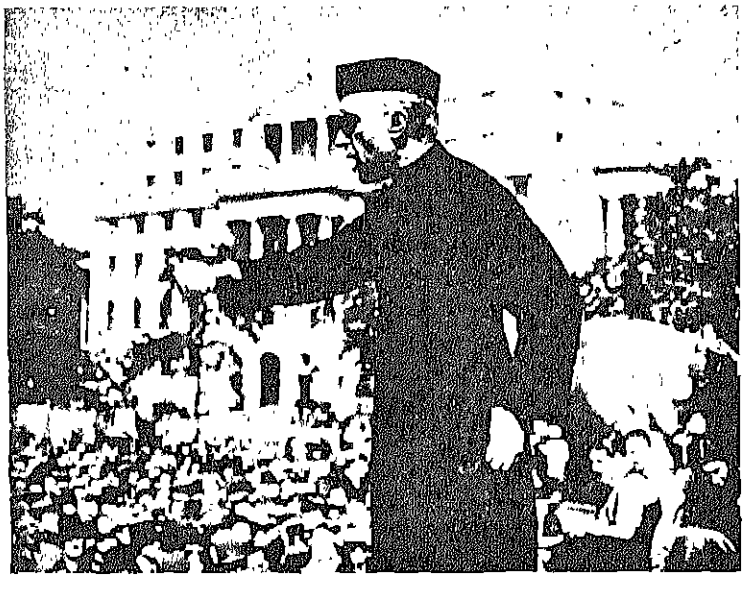
The Nationalist Movement and the World

Throughout its history, Indian nationalist movement was intimately connected with developments in other countries. You have read earlier about the influence which the Russo-Japanese War, the First World War and the Russian Revolution had exerted on the nationalist movement. Many people outside India supported the nationalist cause. You have already seen how, as early as 1857, there were groups in England which tried to rouse the conscience of the people of England against the atrocities committed by the British government in India. In the twentieth century, several organizations were established in various countries by Indians with the help of enlightened people there to propagate the cause of Indian independence in those countries. One of the most important of these organizations was the India League in En-

gland which did significant work in mobilizing British opinion against the British government's policies in India. Many British labour leaders actively campaigned for Indian independence.

Our leaders also gradually became aware of the freedom movements in other countries and made common cause with them. Jawaharlal Nehru played an important part in developing the consciousness of the Indian people on international issues. In 1927, when he had gone to Europe, he attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, which had been called at Brussels by the well-known scientist Albert Einstein, the writer Romain Rolland and many others. An organization called the League against Imperialism was formed and the Indian National Congress was affiliated to it. The League campaigned for putting an end to imperialism everywhere.

When the Japanese invasion of China started in 1931, the people of India extended their support to the people of China. The 1920s and 1930s saw the growth of fascism in Europe, particularly in Germany and Italy where the fascist parties came to power and destroyed even the elementary liberties of the people. Democracy and freedom all over the world were endangered even more than under the old imperialism when the fascist countries started planning conquests. The Indian nationalists understood the danger which fascism posed to the peoples of the world. The Congress opposed fascism and supported the peoples struggling against it. The fascists of Spain were supported by Hitler's Germany in their revolt against the democratic government of Spain. The other



Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a public meeting in support of the Spanish Republicans at Trafalgare Square, London, 1938

countries of Europe were indifferent to the civil war in Spain and the bombing of innocent people in Spanish villages and towns by German planes.

The Spanish civil war had aroused the conscience of the people everywhere and warned them of the danger which fascism presented. An international brigade of volunteers formed by ordinary citizens of the world fought shoulder to shoulder with the Republicans in Spain. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was in Europe at the time of the civil war, visited Spain and extended the support of the Indian nationalist movement to the people of Spain in their hour of need. When Mussolini, the fascist dictator of Italy, expressed a desire to see Jawaharlal Nehru, Nehru refused to see him. He also had no illusions left regarding the democratic professions of Western countries. They had betrayed Spain and were soon to betray Czechoslovakia and hand it over to Germany. Jawaharlal Nehru said about the governments of Western countries when they betrayed Czechoslovakia: "History long ages hence will remember this infamy and will not forgive them".

Under Jawaharlal Nehru, the cause of freedom and democracy in other countries became dear to the Indian people struggling for the independence of their country. This fraternity with the oppressed peoples all over the world was to become the basis of independent India's foreign policy. At the same time, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Indians fighting for independence learned that their conflict was with the British government and not with the British people.

Constitutional Developments

The British government promulgated the Government of India Act on 2 August 1935. This Act envisaged an All-India Federation of British Indian Provinces and Indian states and the establishment of provincial autonomy in the federating provinces. At the centre a central legislative assembly and a council of states were to be formed. The Indian princes were to be given disproportionately high representation in the two houses at the centre. The provision regarding the formation of the federation never came into operation and the new constitution was introduced only in the provinces.

The Nationalist Movement, 1935-39

In April 1936, the Congress session was held at Lucknow under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1934, the Congress had demanded the formation of a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise to decide the constitution for India. In December 1936, at a special session, the Congress in a resolution rejected the Government of India Act of 1935 and stated that the Constitution that had been imposed on India was against the declared will of the people. It reiterated its resolve regarding the Constituent Assembly.

Although the Congress condemned the Government of India Act, it decided to participate in the elections to the provincial lesgislatures which were to take place in 1937. The Election Manifesto of the Congress demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly. It also advocated land reforms to save the peasants from ruthless exploitation, equal rights for men and women, and improvement in the condition of workers.

The elections were held in 1937 and about 15.5 million people cast their votes. Besides the Congress, many other parties including the Muslim League participated in the elections. The Congress swept the polls in most parts of the country. In six provinces, it won an absolute majority and

in three other provinces, it emerged as the single largest party. There were 482 seats reserved for Muslims. Of these, the Muslim League, which claimed to represent all the Muslims in India, won only 108 seats. In four provinces, including the North-West Frontier Province where Muslims constituted the majority community, the League failed to secure a single seat. In that province, the nationalist movement under the leadership of the veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, secured significant victories and the Muslim League, which wanted to divide the nationalist movement on the basis of religion failed to have any influence there.

After the elections, the question of forming ministries in the provinces arose. Many leaders were opposed to the forming of ministries by the Congress. However, it was decided by a majority vote to form ministries wherever the Congress had a majority. In July 1937, on the assurance of the Viceroy that the governors would not interfere in the administration, the Congress formed its ministries in six provinces -- United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras and Bombay. In the North-West Frontier Province and Assam, the Congress formed its ministries later and, in Sind, a ministry was formed with the support of the Congress.

These ministries took some important steps immediately after coming to power. Political prisoners were released and bans on newspapers were lifted. Important steps were also taken in the field of education.

In 1938 the Congress with Subhas Chandra Bose as its President expressed its total opposition to the scheme for a federation at the centre proposed by the British government and prepared to launch a movement to gain independence immediately. It was proposed that the British government be presented with an ultimatum to agree to independence, failing which a movement would be launched. But the following year the radical and the moderate sections of the Congress were divided on this issue, and Subhas Chandra Bose decided to contest against the moderate candidate for Presidentship at the Tripuri session of the Congress. This was the first time that the office of the Congress President was contested. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President but was asked to form the Working Committee in consultation with Gandhiji. The two leaders could not agree and Subhas Chandra Bose resigned. He later formed the Forward Bloc to mobilize radical elements in the country.

Indian Nationalist Movement during the Second World War

In September 1939, the Second World War broke out and the British government declared India a belligerent. Indian opinion was not sought and by a unilateral decision, India was made a party to the war.

As soon as the war was declared, the Congress clearly stated its attitude. It condemned the aggression committed by fascist countries — Germany and Italy and their ally, Japan —and expressed its sympathy with the victims of aggression. Britain, which claimed to be fighting for freedom, had destroyed the freedom of the Indian people and had dragged India into the war. The Working Committee of the Congress in a resolution stated: "The people of India have, in the recent past, faced grave risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic state in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot

associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom, as she possesses, taken away from her".

The Congress demanded the establishment of an Indian government responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly and the promise that independence would be given as soon as the war was over. The British government did not agree even to this. In November 1939, the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned because it was now clear that Britain was pursuing her own imperialist ends in the war. Another similar offer by the Congress in 1940 was also rejected by the government.

In October 1940, the Individual Satyagraha was launched by Gandhiji. Selected individuals broke the law by making anti-war speeches in public and offered themselves for arrest. Vinoba Bhave was chosen as the first person to offer the Satyagraha. Soon the Individual Satyagraha became a nation-wide movement. Within six months, about 25,000 persons were in jail.

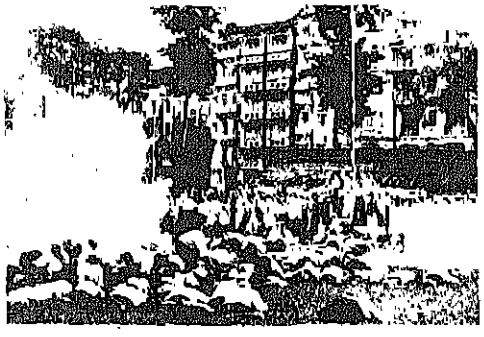
The movement was progressing when Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., and Japan attacked the U.S. naval station at Pearl Harbor, and started advancing in South-East Asia. These developments led to the widening of the war into a world war. In January 1942, the Allied countries, including U.S.A., the Soviet Union and Britain, issued the United Nations Declaration. The Atlantic Charter which had been issued by the

Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on 7 August 1942. The historic 'Quit India' Resolution was passed at this meeting on 8 August 1942.

United States and Britain in 1941 was agreed to by all members of the United Nations. This Charter declared: "They (the United Nations) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". The Prime Minister of Britain, Winston Churchill, however, declared that the Charter did not apply to India but was concerned with those countries of Europe which had been occupied by Germany.

Nationalist leaders including the President of the Congress, Abul Kalam Azad, and Jawaharlal Nehru were opposed to fascism and condemned it as the enemy of the freedom of peoples everywhere. They expressed their sympathy and support for victims of fascist aggression. The Indian nationalist movement pledged to fight against fascism side by side with the United Nations but this could happen only if the Indian people were in control of the government of their country. Many countries, allies against fascism, put pressure on the British government to concede the demand of the Indian people.

In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India to hold talks with the Indian leaders. However, the talks broke down as the British were not willing to promise independence even after the war was over and rejected the Congress proposal for the formation of a national government during the war.



A scene of tear-gassing of demonstrators in Bombay on 9 August 1942

After the failure of the talks with Cripps, the Congress prepared to launch the third mass movement against British rule. (The first was the Non-Cooperation movement and the second the Civil Disobedience movement.) In August 1942, Gandhiji gave forth the slogan 'Quit India'. The Congress passed a resolution on 8 August 1942 which stated that the 'immediate ending of British rule in India' was 'an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and the success of the United Nations'. The Congress resolved to launch a mass civil disobedience struggle on the widest possible scale 'for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence', if the British rule did not end immediately. The day after the resolution was passed, the Congress was banned and all the important leaders were arrested.

The arrest of the nationalist leaders provoked a wave of indignation among the people. 'Quit India', the pithiest call to action, resounded throughout the country. There were spontaneous demonstrations at many places, and people resorted to the use of violence to dislodge the foreign rule. The government used police and army to suppress the movement. Hundreds of persons were killed and over 70,000 arrested in less than five months. Despite the government's ruthlessness, the struggles continued throughout the period of the Second World War.

In 1941, Subhas Chandra Bose had escaped from India and had reached Germany. He carried on activities for India's

freedom from there and made broadcasts exhorting the people of India to overthrow British rule. In July 1943, he came to Singapore. Rash Behari Bose, an Indian revolutionary who had escaped from India to Japan in 1915, had set up the Indian Independence League. After the Japanese had defeated the British in South-East Asia, the Indian National Army was organized from among the Indian soldiers who had been taken prisoner by the Japanese. Subhas Bose took over the leadership of the Indian Independence League and reorganized the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) to liberate India from British rule. On 21 October 1943, he proclaimed the setting up of the Provisional Government of Free India. In 1944, three units of the INA along with the Japanese troops moved into the Imphal-Kohima region of north-eastern India. The attack was, however, repulsed. Even though the attempt to liberate India failed, the activities of Subhas Bose and the INA served to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle in India. It may, however, be remembered that both Germany and Japan were aggressor countries with ambitions of world domination. The Indian nationalist movement had never viewed them as friends in its struggle for freedom and its sympathies, from the very beginning, had been with the victims of the German aggression in Europe and of the Japanese aggression in Asia.

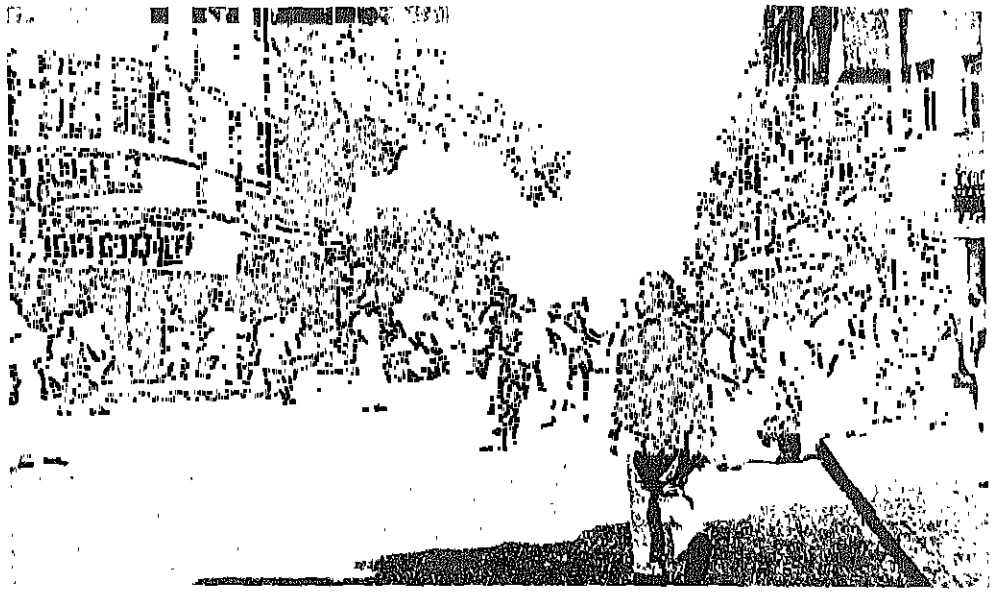
The Demand for Pakistan

You have read earlier about the rise of communal parties. These parties were organized on the basis of religion and claimed to be working for the promotion of the interests of their respective communities. In reality these communal parties played into the hands of the British rulers and hampered the cause of freedom. During the period when the nationalist movement was at its height, these parties were swept away and failed to get the support of the people. The Muslim League fared badly in the elections of 1937. So did the Hindu communal organizations. However, soon communalism raised its head again, this time in a more sinister form and led to tragic consequences for the people of India.

The new development in communal politics in India was the propagation of what is known as the `two-nation theory'. According to this theory, the Muslim League led by Jinnah claimed that India consisted of two separate nations — Hindus and Muslims. Politics based on this theory led to tragic incidents and ultimately the partition of the country.

The 'two-nation theory' was a total falsification of the entire history of the Indian people. In medieval times, Hindus and Muslims had developed a common culture. They were one people. In the nineteenth century, before, during, and after the Revolt of 1857 they had fought as one people to free themselves from foreign rule. In the twentieth century, when the national movement became a mass movement, people of both communities, Hindus and Muslims alike, suffered repression as one people and one nation. The nationalist movement was a struggle of the entire Indian nation involving all the communities living in India. Now the 'two-nation theory' attacked the entire basis of Indian nationalism. The Hindu communal leaders also advocated this theory by asserting that only Hindus of India constituted the nation.

In 1940, at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, the demand for a separate state of Pakistan was made. It was based on



A scene of anti-British protest in Bombay during the mutiny of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in 1946

the 'two-nation theory'. The Muslim League demanded "that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign".

The demand for a separate state was opposed by large sections of Muslims who were against any separatist demand. Many nationalist leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had always been in the forefront of the national movement, stoutly opposed the demand for a separate state as anti-national and detrimental to the interests of Muslims and the people of India as a whole. Many Muslim organizations were also opposed to the demand for a separate state and fought against communal tendencies and for the freedom of the Indian people. Of these the more prominent were the Khudai Khidmatgar in the North-West Frontier Province organized by the veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as 'Frontier Gandhi', the Watan Party in Baluchistan, the All-India Momin Conference, the Ahrar Party, the All-India Shia Political Conference and the Azad Muslim Conference. These organizations, along with the Congress, led a large number of Muslims in the struggle for independence.

The Muslim League was encouraged by the British government to press its demand for a separate state and played the game of British imperialism which had the effect of disrupting and weakening the movement for independence. When the Congress withdrew from the provincial governments in protest against British attitude to the demand for independence, the Muslim

League celebrated the event by observing what it called the 'Deliverance Day', and tried to form ministries in the provinces although they did not have a majority in any provincial legislature.

Nationalist Upsurge after the Second World War

The Second World War was fought in the name of freedom and democracy by the countries of the United Nations. The conscience of vast multitudes of peoples had been stirred by the war against fascism. The demand for independence of colonial peoples swelled to a crescendo after the war. The peoples of Asia and Africa charged forward in a crowning bid for independence. The political climate of the world had changed. In this general world-wide struggle against imperialism, the struggle of the Indian people shone forth unique and exemplary.

The war had changed the entire picture of the world. The old imperialist countries —Britain, France, Holland and others—had been weakened by the war. They were no longer powerful enough to withstand the onward march of the nationalist movements. Britain was no longer the world power it had been for centuries and her supremacy was gone for good. The U.S.S.R., which had suffered most heavily during the war, emerged stronger. Many countries of Europe, which had been occupied by Germany, had become socialist after the defeat of Hitler's Germany. Thus in the war while fascism had been destroyed, imperialism had also received heavy blows.

In Britain itself, the Conservative Party, which was opposed to the demand for the independence of India, lost heavily in the elections. The war-time Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, who had disclaimed any intention to 'preside over the dissolution of the British Empire' was no longer the Prime Minister. There were many people in the Labour Party, which had come to power under the leadership of Attlee, who were opposed to the continuation of British rule over India. Conditions were ripe for the end of imperialism in India.

In India the resentment against British rule ran at a high pitch at this time. Indians had suffered a great deal during the war. The British government had shown callous indifference to the famine-stricken people during the terrible famine that had raged in Bengal in 1943 in which three million people died. At the end of the war, all this pent-up resentment broke out in dealing a final blow to foreign rule.

In November 1945, three officers of the Indian National Army were tried at the Red Fort in Delhi. They were charged with the 'crime' of conspiring against the King, that is, the British empire. They were defended by the barristers among the nation's leaders. But they were sentenced to transportation for life. The sentences which were later revoked provoked widespread popular upsurge all over the country. The armed forces were also affected. Thousands of ratings of the Royal Indian Navy revolted. There were demonstrations, strikes and hartals all over the country. The British government saw the writing on the wall. It was no longer possible to hold the Indian people in subjection.

Achievement of Independence, 1947

In February 1946, the British government sent the Cabinet Mission to India to hold discussions with Indian leaders. The British Prime Minister announced his

government's willingness to grant independence to India. The Cabinet Mission proposed the formation of a Union of India in which provinces would be grouped in four zones with their own constitutions and enjoying autonomy except in matters of foreign policy, defence and communication. It also proposed the formation of a constitution-making body, not elected by the people, but by the provincial legislatures on the basis of communal electorates. The members from the Indian states were proposed to be appointed by the rulers of Indian states. The Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission proposal regarding the constitution-making body. Although the Congress had earlier insisted on a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, it agreed to the Cabinet Mission proposal in order to avoid any delay in the achievement of independence. In July, the elections to the Constituent Assembly were completed. The Congress had won 201 out of the 210 general seats, the Muslim League won 73 out of 78 seats reserved for Muslims. The Muslim League boycotted the Assembly and pressed on with its demand for a separate state of Pakistan. The princes also boycotted the Assembly. Meanwhile the people of the states pressed for the integration of the states into a united India. On 2 September

AUGUST

The Statesman Supplement

THE DOMINION OF INDIA

THE DOMINION OF PAKISTAN

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

PRIME MINISTER

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

PRIME MINISTER

LORD MOUNTBATTEN

PANDIT NEHRU

MR. M A JINNAH

MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

MILESTONES ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

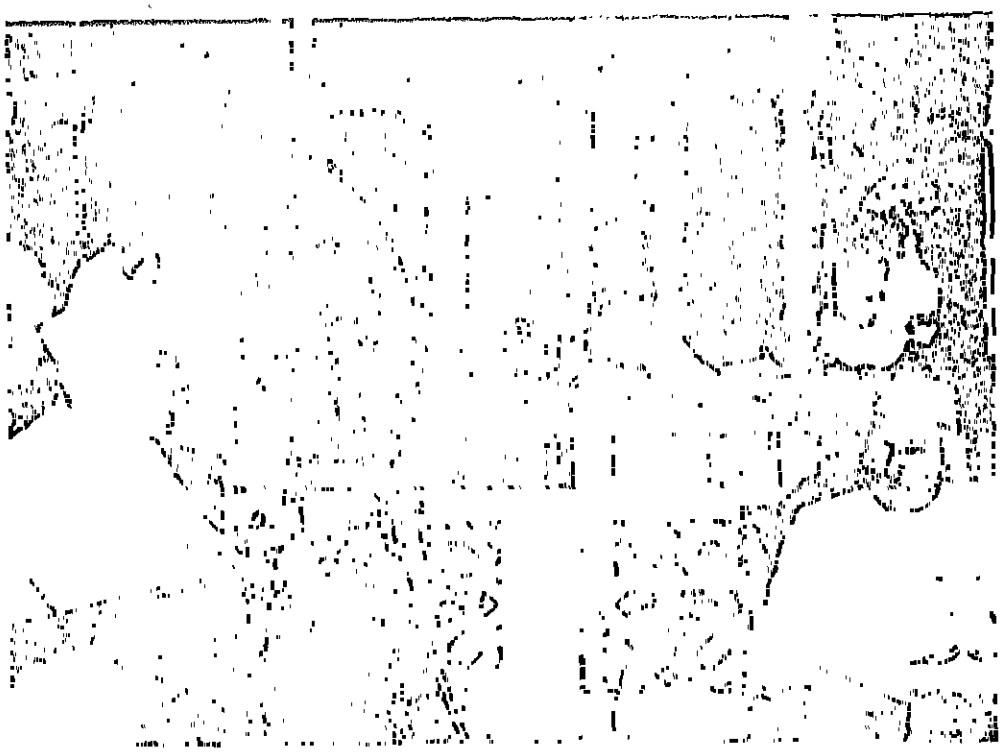
Independence Day Supplement of The Statesman

1946, the Congress formed the Interim Government which was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. Later, the Muslim League also joined the Interim Government.

On 24 March 1947, Lord Mountbatten was appointed the Viceroy of India and the British government announced that it would transfer power to Indian hands not later than June 1948.

On 3 June 1947, Mountbatten presented a plan for the division of India into two independent states -- the Indian Union and Pakistan. The Indian states were given the right to decide their own future. Partition was completed and power was transferred to the two States of India and Pakistan. Pakistan comprised West Punjab, East Bengal, Sind, and the N.W.F.P.

On 15 August 1947, India became independent. Unfortunately, the victory of the glorious struggle of the Indian people for independence was tainted by ugly happenings immediately before and after the achievement of independence. Millions lost their homes, several thousand persons were killed. Gandhiji had been touring the riot-affected areas bringing solace and comfort to the people. On the day India became independent, he was in Calcutta which had



Jawaharlal Nehru making his famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech in the Constituent Assembly on the eve of India's independence

been ravaged by communal rioting. He came to Delhi only after communal violence had ceased there. He was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic on 30 January 1948.

Building the New India

The Constituent Assembly had set itself the task of preparing a constitution of free India. It started meeting on 9 December 1946. The Drafting Committee under the chairmanship of Dr B.R. Ambedkar completed its work on 26 November 1949. The constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950 when India became a Republic. Every year we celebrate 15 August as the Independence Day and 26 January as the Republic Day.

The task of the Assembly was outlined by Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech moving the Objectives Resolution in the Assembly on 13 December 1946. In the Resolution that he proposed, the Assembly expressed its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic comprising British India, Indian states and other territories 'willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India'. In the Independent Sovereign India, the Assembly declared that 'justice, social, economic, and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action' shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India.

On 14 August 1947, while addressing the Constituent Assembly, which functioned also as the Parliament of Free India, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, spoke these memorable words: "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that, at this solemn moment, we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity." He spoke about the aims and dreams which awaited realization and the future 'that beckons to us now'. "That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges that we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering so long will our work not be over.

"And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

In the name of the Assembly he appealed to the people of India "to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill will or blaming others. We have to build the noble

INDIA'S CHARTER OF FREEDOM

THIS Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;

WHEREIN the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a union of them all; and

WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

WHEREIN all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government are derived from the people; and

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

WHEREIN adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

WHEREBY shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and

THIS ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

This is the text of the Resolution unanimously adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India on the 22nd January 1947.

India's Charter of Freedom adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 22 January 1947

mansion of free India where all her children may dwell".

Thus began the effort to build "the noble mansion of free India". The first task was to complete the unification of India. Many rulers of the princely states were dreaming of establishing independent states of their own. However, as a result of the movement of the people of the states and the able stewardship of Sardar Patel, they acceded to India. In February 1948, the people of Junagadh, whose Nawab had fled to Pakistan, voted for accession to India. The people of Jammu and Kashmir had been keeping up the agitation against autocracy as a part of the national movement. After the invasion by Pakistani raiders, the Maharaja of Kashmir and Shaikh Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference which had been leading the popular struggle in Kashmir, requested India to accept the state's accession on 26 October 1947. The formal accession of Hyderabad to India took place in November 1949. By the end of 1949, the work of the integration of princely states had been completed and they were merged in different states of the Union.

The only Indian territories which were still under colonial rule were the French possessions —Pondicherry, Karakal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandernagore —and the Portuguese possessions — Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman and Diu. The French possessions became a part of India by 1954 and the Portuguese possessions by 1961 when Goa was liberated. With this the liberation of all parts of India from colonial rule was finally completed.

With independence, a new era opened in the history of the Indian people and the struggle to build a new and prosperous India, began in right earnest and continues.

India's national movement was a glorious struggle. Through this struggle, the people of India challenged the mightiest empire in the world and became independent. The movement drew together millions of people, men and women, belonging to different religious, regional and linguistic groups. It was a struggle which united all the people of India as nothing had united them before. Unity of the people of different religions, castes and creeds was the first fruit of the resurgence. The disruptive communal forces, instigated by imperialism, were overcome and the Indian people threw off the foreign yoke. This unity was the best hope for the success of the struggle. Under the leadership of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad, this unity was forged. The courage of standing up to the brutal repression which the people displayed and the solidarity they achieved in the face of divisive power is our most cherished heritage.

There were other features of our struggle which make the heritage an even prouder one. On the whole, it was a peaceful non-violent struggle. No country and no people can fight for or maintain its own freedom while remaining indifferent or opposed to the freedom of others. While freedom-loving peoples supported our struggle, we supported the cause of freedom everywhere. Whether it was the peoples of Asia and Africa, who were trying to free themselves from foreign rule or the peoples of Europe whose freedom was endangered by the rise of fascism, the cause of freedom in every country we valued as our own cause. Friendship for all peoples with a stake in their freedom became a unique tenet of our foreign policy in the pre-independence days and so it has remained ever since.

Another aspect of the national movement was its aim to reconstruct our society on the basis of secularism, democracy and social equality. The Indian people realized that the backward social system could not be destroyed and a new one suited to the needs of people built, unless the people were freed from the yoke of imperialism. Thus the struggle to reconstruct Indian society and economy required first of all the overthrow of foreign rule. Our nationalist movement was greatly inspired by the ideas of socialism. With the achievement of independence, an even greater struggle of building a new prosperous India with a just social order started.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1. What were the basic and immediate causes of the revolt of 1857 ? What were the main centres of the revolt ? Name some important leaders of the revolt.
2. What were the differences between the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' ? Why were the 'extremists' more popular than the 'moderates' ?
3. What were the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation movements ? Name some important leaders of these movements.
4. What did the slogan of Swaraj mean ? How was the slogan of Complete Independence different from it ? When and where was the slogan of Complete Independence adopted ?
5. What was the states people's movement ? Why and how did it become a part of the nationalist movement ?
6. What was the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Second World War?
7. When was the Muslim League formed ? Describe briefly the policies of the Muslim League from 1906 to 1940. When was the formation of a separate state of Pakistan adopted as the aim of the Muslim League ?
8. How were the Cabinet Mission's proposals different from the proposals made earlier by the British government during the Second World War ? Why were they accepted by the nationalist movement ?
9. Write notes on the following: Partition of Bengal; Lucknow Pact of 1916; Simon Commission; 26 January 1930; Ghadar Party; India League; League against Imperialism; the Indian National Army; the Meerut and Lahore Conspiracy Cases; Civil Disobedience Movement.

Things to Do

1. Read Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography and prepare an essay on his attitude towards the following: Non-Cooperation movement; communal parties; Indian princely states; Fascism; Socialism; nature of British imperialism; his vision of Independent India.
2. Prepare a chart of the nationalist movement from 1858 to 1947 showing the main stages in the growth of the movement. The chart should show the year, the main event or events, the aims and policies and the important leaders.
3. Display on wall-papers important resolutions of the Indian National Congress, for example, the resolutions on Complete Independence and Quit India.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. What do you understand by the terms 'nation' and 'nationalism' ? When, in your opinion, did India become a nation ? Give arguments in support of your answer.
2. It is said that the constitutional reforms introduced by the British government from time to time were always too little and too late. Discuss the statement relating the constitutional changes —Morley-Minto Reforms, Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the Government of India Act of 1935 —with reference to the nationalist movement.
3. Discuss the character of the communal parties and the role played by them during the struggle for independence.
4. In the light of what you have read about revolutions in a previous chapter, do you think the Indian nationalist movement was a revolutionary movement ? Substantiate your answer with arguments about the political, social and economic policies of the nationalist movement.
5. You have read in the previous chapter about various reform movements of the nineteenth century. Was the nationalist movement an advance on the nineteenth century reform movements as regards modernization of Indian society ? Give arguments in support of your answer.
6. Discuss the attitude of the nationalist movement in India towards developments in other parts of the world, particularly towards the nationalist movements in other countries and towards fascism.
7. Write an essay on the heritage which the nationalist movement has bequeathed to us.

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

Volume Two

History Textbook for Class X

ARJUN DEV

राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
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Foreword

AFTER the adoption of the National Policy on Education in 1986, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) developed a framework of national curriculum for elementary and secondary education, and syllabus guidelines and detailed syllabi in various subjects for all stages of school education New textbooks and other instructional materials have also been brought out.

The NCERT's courses in history, which is one of the social science subjects from Class VI to Class X, have been designed keeping in view the requirements of general education. The course for Classes VI to VIII comprises a general introduction to the history of India from the earliest to the modern times. For Classes IX-X, it mainly comprises a general introduction to world historical development covering the period from the earliest times to the most recent. The primary objective of these courses is to develop in the pupil a broad historical perspective and to introduce her/him to the national as well as the world heritage.

The present course for Classes IX and X consists of a broad survey of the history of the world with its focus on the main stages in the growth of human civilization, and on major events and socio-economic, political and cultural developments which are of world historical importance. The emphasis is on the aspects of change and development and on the contributions of different peoples and cultures to the heritage of mankind. An attempt has also been made to focus on certain aspects of India's cultural heritage and modern Indian history that have a close bearing on contemporary India. The details of political history, particularly dynastic history, have been reduced to the minimum. Many important developments and many cultures and civilizations have had to be left out owing to the limitations imposed by the time allotted to the teaching of the subject. However, in spite of these limitations, an attempt has been made to deal with the main course of human history in its aspects of unity and diversity, continuity and change. It is hoped that the study of this course will help to deepen the pupils' understanding of the world, and help them appreciate that the world of man is indivisible

The course for Classes IX and X has been covered in two volumes. The first volume, for Class IX, covers the period from the pre-historic times to about the end of the nineteenth century The second volume covers major trends in the history of the world from the rise of imperialism to our own times when imperialism, at least in the form of direct political control, has ended. Besides introducing the young student to major trends in contemporary world history, this volume also attempts to provide a broad historical perspective to an understanding of contemporary India. This has been sought to be done by introducing three chapters

exclusively on India. These chapters have as their focus certain aspects of the development of India's cultural heritage, the process of the awakening of the Indian people that began in the nineteenth century, and the successful struggle that the Indian people waged to throw off the foreign yoke and build a new India

The first version of the present revised edition of this volume was brought out in April 1990 soon after the last bastion of colonialism in Africa—South Africa's hold over Namibia—had collapsed. Since then many significant changes and developments have taken place in the world Some of these have been so far-reaching that it is possible to view them as marking the beginning of a new phase in world history. An attempt has been made in this revised version to reflect some of the more important changes and developments that have taken place since this book was first brought out. This volume, it is hoped, will stimulate the young student's interest in comprehending the contemporary events and developments in a broad historical perspective that this book seeks to provide

The NCERT is grateful to Professor Arjun Dev who has prepared the original as well as the revised version of this volume, and to his colleagues, particularly Ms Indira Arjun Dev, for their help at various stages in its preparation and finalization We are grateful to the many experts and teachers whose comments and suggestions were extremely useful in preparing the original and the revised versions of this book, to Dr Qamaruddin for his help in reviewing the exercises, to Shri Bhupen Sharma for preparing the maps, to Dr R P Pathak for assisting in the preparation of the press copy and Shri Nasiruddin Khan for his many editorial suggestions We also place on record our gratitude to the institutions, agencies and individuals, particularly the Archaeological Survey of India and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, who have provided illustrations included in this volume.

The NCERT will be grateful for any comments, criticisms and suggestions from readers on any aspect of the present volume.

A. K. SHARMA
Director
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

New Delhi
May 1989

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Front Cover
(*Bottom*) A scene of trench warfare which came into vogue in the First World War. Over it is shown a part of Pablo Picasso's famous painting 'Guernica' depicting the destruction of the city of that name by the fascists during the Spanish Civil War. (*Top*) The explosion of the Atom Bomb dropped on Nagasaki On this explosion scene is superimposed the logo of the conference of the foreign ministers of the non- aligned countries held in Cyprus

Back Cover
Police attack on demonstrators in South Africa

CHAPTER 9

Imperialism and Colonialism

THE term 'imperialism' means the practice of extending the power, control or rule by a country over the political and economic life of areas outside its own borders. This may be done through military or other means, and particularly through 'colonialism' or the practice of acquiring colonies by conquest or other means and making them dependent It may be remembered that occupation of or direct rule over a country or people by another country is not always an essential feature of imperialism The essential feature of the relations between an imperialist country and the country over which it has established its control or the colony which it has acquired, is exploitation, with or without direct political control. This means that the imperialist country, or *metropolis* (literal meaning 'mother country'), as it is sometimes called, subordinates the colony or the country which the *metropolis* indirectly controls to serve its own economic and political interests.

Most countries of Asia, including India, and Africa, and many other parts of the world were until recent years under the control of one imperialist country or another. These included countries which were not directly ruled by the imperialist countries but were exploited by them more or less in the same way as countries over which direct imperialist rule had been established In the present-day world, when almost all countries of the world are politically independent, imperialist control over other countries has not come to an end The practice of exploitation, particularly economic exploitation and domination of independent but economically less developed countries, is often called 'neo-colonialism'.

The first phase of the imperialist control and colonization of Asia, Africa and the Americas began in the sixteenth century. During the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, as you have read in Chapter 6 (Vol. 1), the voyages of discovery were followed by the founding of vast colonial empires by Portugal, Spain, Holland, England and France In the Americas, Spain occupied most of South America (excluding Brazil which was occupied by Portugal), Central America, Mexico, West Indies and parts of what is now the United States of America. England and France occupied parts of North America Many people from these countries of Europe went to settle in these colonies permanently During this period, the European control in Africa extended only to about one-fifth of the continent, mainly in the coastal areas. This was the period of slave trade The European slave traders enslaved and transported about 5000 Africans to the Ameri-

cas every month during the seventeenth century In Asia, the Europeans came mainly with the purpose of trade The traders from Portugal, Holland, England, France and other countries, with the backing of their respective governments, set up their trading posts and tried to establish their monopoly of trade with the countries of Asia, and each tried to exclude the others through war and by extending their political influence and control. The Portuguese who controlled the trade with Asia were ousted from that position by the Dutch and the English who extended their control over Indonesia and India, respectively

Generally speaking, the first phase of imperialism and colonization came to an end by the close of the eighteenth century. The British conquest of India which had started in the middle of the eighteenth century, was completed by about the middle of the nineteenth century. In the meantime, the imperialist penetration of China had begun.

The period between the sixteenth to the eighteenth century was a period of naked plunder by European colonial powers In Chapter 7 (Vol.1), you have already read about the role which this plunder played in the growth of the capitalist system and in the Industrial Revolution

During the initial period of the Industrial Revolution, the pursuit for colonies had slowed down The pursuit for colonies and colonial rivalries re-emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century This new phase of imperialism, which began in about 1875 and continued till 1914, is often described as New Imperialism It was the result of the economic system that had developed as a result of the Industrial Revolution During this phase, a few industrialized capitalist countries established their political and economic control and domination over almost the rest of the world The forms of control and domination including direct colonial rule, spheres of influence and various types of economic and commercial agreements The power of some of the imperialist countries such as Spain and Portugal declined during this period, and new countries emerged which played an increasingly important role during this phase of imperialist expansion and rivalries. Besides the old imperialist countries —Britain and France — which continued to be powerful and expand, the new imperialist countries which emerged during this period were Germany, Italy, Belgium, U S A and, later, Japan.

CONDITIONS THAT HELPED THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

If you study the conditions that existed in the world in the nineteenth century, you will find that these conditions favoured the growth of imperialism The imperialist countries took full advantage of these conditions and easily justified any and every conquest that served their interests. In fact, the more powerful nations made imperialism seem necessary and natural

Demands Created by the Industrial Revolution

As you have read, the Industrial Revolution resulted in a very great increase in the production of goods It also created the capitalist system of production. Under capitalism, maximum profit for the capitalist was the primary purpose of production Capitalists followed two courses to make big profits —more and more production and minimum wages to workers The production of goods was far in excess of the

demand at home. Low wages meant low purchasing power of the majority of the population and this also restricted their demand at home. So capitalist countries had to find new markets and buyers for the goods their industries were producing.

The possibilities of one industrialized country selling its manufactures to another industrialized country were also limited. With the spread of the Industrial Revolution to all the countries of Europe, each country tried to protect and stimulate its new industries To do this, as you learned in Chapter 7, all the European nations began to follow a 'protectionist policy'. That is, each country put a heavy tariff or tax on goods imported from other countries.

European countries could find markets for their surplus goods in Asia and Africa where the Industrial Revolution had not taken place Selling was made easier through political domination of these areas. Then each country could protect its market from other European rivals and also eliminate any competition from goods produced locally.

In addition to markets, European countries needed new sources of raw materials. As industries grew, more and more raw materials were needed to fee those industries. And all that was needed could not be had internally, at any rate not enough of it. India and Egypt were good sources of cotton, Congo and the East Indies, of rubber Other products needed were foodgrains, tea, coffee, indigo, tobacco and sugar. To obtain these, it was necessary to change the pattern of production in the countries where they could be grown. Sometimes, goods produced in one country were sold in another country to pay for the goods from that country For example, the English promoted the cultivation of opium in India, they smuggled the opium from India into China and in this way paid for the goods that they bought in China. In some countries, the imperialists forced the cultivation of only one or two crops which they needed as raw materials for their industries Coal, iron, tin, gold, copper and, later, oil were other resources of Asia and Africa that European countries wanted to control.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, imperialist countries began looking upon Asia, Africa and South Africa as good places to invest their capital The abundance of raw materials in Asia and Africa, and the number of people who could be made to work for lower wages made the two continents very attractive to investors. Capital invested in Europe would fetch only 3 or 4 per cent profit, in Asia or Africa, it was as high as 20 per cent From about the end of the nineteenth century, export of capital for investment in other countries began to become more important than the export of goods. This happened as a result of the growing influence and power of the financial institutions such as banks. They exercised control over industries by giving them credit The investment of capital in the colonies was not made with a view to industrializing the colonies, it was to promote industries which would produce goods mainly for export, such as in mining, or which would further strengthen the imperialist country's control over the colony's economy, such as the railways But, as in the case of markets and raw materials, political domination was often necessary Investments might not be 'safe' without political domination, Europeans 'reasoned'. An uprising that a weak government could not control, or a change in government, could mean a loss of profits or

even of the whole investment, they argued This was how Morocco in North Africa, for example, became 'French Morocco', after French investors appealed to their government to annex it.

Improvement in Transportation and Communication

Changes in transport and communication that came with the Industrial Revolution made the spread of imperialism easier. Steamships could carry goods between home countries in Europe and the acquired territories in Asia and Africa much faster than old sailing vessels With cheap labour, imperialist countries built railroads and inland waterways in conquered area. On these they could get raw materials out of the interior of the continents and send their manufactured products into new markets Thus every area of the world was brought within easy reach of the industrialized countries

Extreme Nationalism : Pride and Power

The later part of the nineteenth century was a period of intense nationalism. Germany and Italy had just succeeded in becoming unified nations. Nationalism in the late nineteenth century came to be associated with chauvinism Many nations developed myths of their superiority over other peoples Each one felt that it, too, must have colonies to add to its prestige and power. Imperialism became the fashion of the age. Writers and speakers in England, France and Germany opened institutions to promote the idea of imperialism, and took great pride in calling their territories empires.

Imperialist countries took over some places in Asia and Africa because of their military or strategic importance. For example, England needed Port Said, Aden, Hong Kong, Singapore and Cyprus —not to protect England but to protect her conquered lands and trade route to India from rival nations. At these places she established naval bases and coaling stations to strengthen her overseas power Rival nations got similar bases elsewhere, as you will see. Acquiring a colony also had a chain reaction If a county acquired a colony, it needed another to protect it and so on

Overseas possessions were also useful because they added to an imperialist country's manpower Some of the people of the colonized countries were taken into the army, often by force, for use in wars of conquest, others were contracted to work on plantations and mines in some other colonial possession for a specified number of years. The manpower of the colonies was also used in the administration of the colonies at lower levels.

The 'Civilizing Mission': Men and Ideas

In the minds of many Europeans, imperialist expansion was very noble. They considered it a way of bringing civilization to the 'backward' peoples of the world The famous English writer, Rudyard Kipling, asked his countrymen to shoulder what he called 'the white man's burden' Jules Ferry, in France, said, 'Superior races have the duty of civilizing the inferior races'.

Christian missionaries, dedicated to spreading Christianity, also played their part in promoting the idea of imperialism. Usually they went alone into unknown areas in a spirit of duty. Very often they were followed by profiteering traders and soldiers. Wars often took place to protect the missionaries. All this seemed quite natural to most Western people who considered it their nation's destiny to civilize

and Christianize the peoples of Asia and Africa President McKinley of the United States summed up the reasons for annexing the Philippines in these words· "There was nothing left to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them as our fellow men for whom Christ also died".

Explorers and adventurers, also helped in spreading imperialism. They went into unknown or little known territories and brought back reports that often indicated opportunities for trade and development. On the basis of such reports, a trading post would first be set up; next, gradually the explorer's home government would arrange to take over 'protection' of the entire area around the trading post Then this government would proceed to claim the entire territory The work of explorers and adventurers was particularly important in Europe's taking over of Africa.

Conditions that Favoured Imperialism in Asia and Africa

The most important condition favouring the imperialist conquest of Asia and Africa was that the Industrial Revolution had not come to this part of the world. The craftsmen produced goods of fine quality that Westerners admired and desired. But they relied entirely on hand tools which meant production on a small scale In comparison with the production of Western countries in the nineteenth century, Asian and African methods were backward. Also, because of the lack of knowledge that the Industrial Revolution had brought to the West, the two continents were militarily unable to stand up to the armed might and power of Europe.

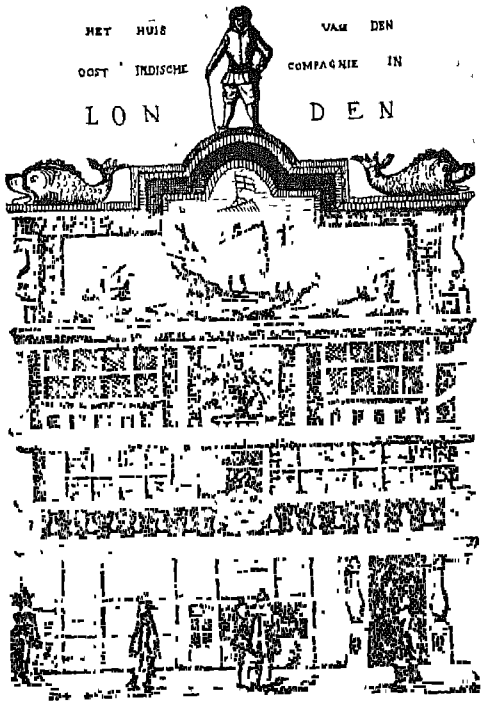
The governments of the countries of Asia and Africa were very weak in the nineteenth century, though in ancient and medieval times powerful empires had existed there. In the nineteenth century, the old ways of governing were still followed, even though they had outlived their usefulness. Strong nation-states in the modern sense had not developed. The people's loyalties were still to local princes as in feudal times, or to tribal chieftains. These rulers cared little for the welfare of the people. These conditions help to explain how small bands of Westerners succeeded in gaining power and, finally, with the backing of their governments, in conquering entire countries.

THE CONQUEST OF ASIA

The British in India

The decline of the Mughal empire in India gave the British and the French, who had come to trade, an opportunity to conquer India. The English East India Company, formed in 1600, was victorious in its conflict with France, which ended in 1763. Beginning with Bengal, almost the entire country came under the rule of the English East India Company. After the Revolt of 1857, the British government took over direct control of India. Many princely states survived but they were free more in name than in fact. Britain's conquest of India was complete.

The conflict between the English East India Company and the French was over establishing a monopoly of trade. After the English company gained control, the country's vast resources fell into its hands. There was no longer any need to bring money from England to buy Indian goods. These were purchased with the



The East India House, headquarters of the English East India Company in London

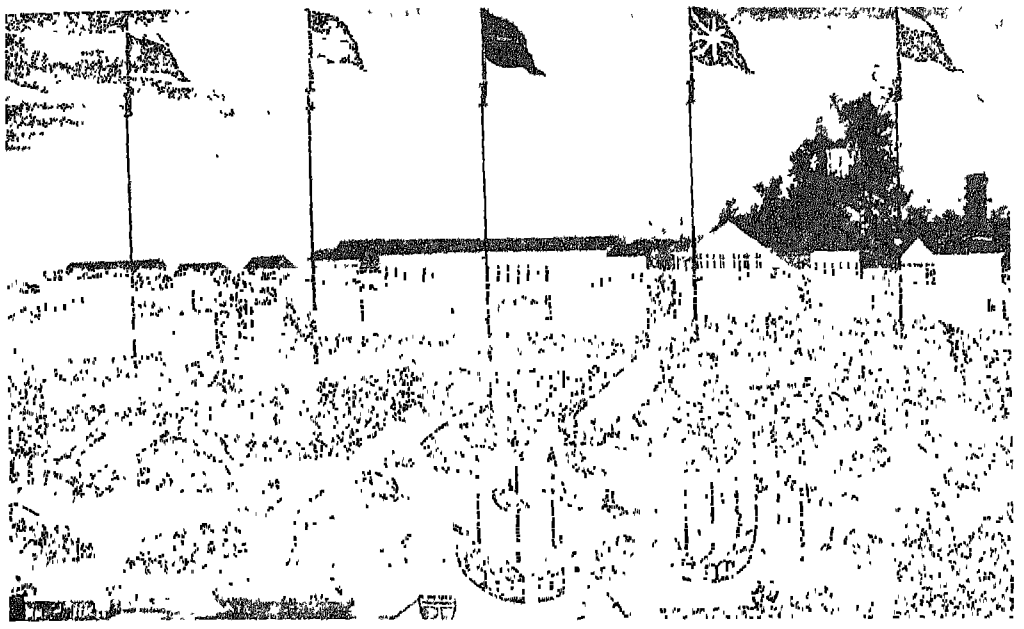
money made from British conquests in India and sold in England and Europe Fortunes were made by the officers of the Company India was known as the brightest jewel of the British empire. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution in England, British goods poured into this country. This ruined Indian handicraft industries. Millions of pounds were drained out of India to England in the form of profits and as payment to the British government as direct tribute and Home Charges. India's interests were subordinated more and more to British interests. In 1877, the British queen took the title 'Empress of India', like the one used earlier by the Mughals

The British conquest led to many changes in the Indian social and economic life. To extend Indian markets for British goods and to make use of India's natural resources railway construction was started on a large scale British rulers gave special privileges to their own planters, and within a short time a number of tea, coffee and indigo plantations grew up In 1883, all import and export duties were waived Indian resources, both human and material, were used to promote the interests of British imperialism in China, Central Asia and Africa. To prevent opposition from the Indian people, the British imposed laws to stifle the expression of public opinion They excluded Indians from responsible positions in government, and discriminated against them in other institutions and in social life

Imperialism in China

Imperialist domination of China began with what are known as the Opium Wars Before these wars, only two ports were open to foreign traders British merchants bought Chinese tea, silk and other goods, but there was no market for British goods in China. Then British merchants started smuggling opium into China on a large scale

The illegal opium trade was profitable to the British traders but did immense physical and moral damage to the Chinese. In 1839, when a Chinese government official seized an opium cargo and destroyed it, Britain declared war and easily defeated the Chinese. The Chinese were then forced to pay heavy damages to the British and to open five port cities to British traders The Chinese government also agreed that in future, British subjects in these ports would be tried for any crimes in English rather than in Chinese courts This provision,



The Port of Canton which had been opened to European traders for trade with China The flags of the countries which had been permitted by the Chinese authorities to trade with China are seen in the picture

which other Western countries copied, came to be known as *extraterritorial rights*. The Chinese government was no longer free to impose tariff on foreign goods The island of Hong Kong was turned over to Britain.

Soon France entered into similar unequal treaties with China. On the pretext that a French missionary had been murdered, England and France fought another war with China China was defeated and was forced to grant more privileges to her conquerors

The next important stage in the growth of imperialist control over China came after the war with Japan This came about when Japan tried to increase her influence over Korea which was under Chinese overlordship. China resented this and the two countries went to war, which ended in victory for Japan China gave Korea her independence and ceded Formosa and other islands to Japan. She was also forced to pay Japan heavy war damages amounting to about 150 million dollars.

France, Russia, Britain and Germany gave loans to China to help her to meet this payment. But not for nothing! These western countries then divided China into *spheres of influence*, which meant that each country had certain regions of China reserved exclusively for its purposes For example, in its sphere of influence, a country might have the right to build railways or work mines. Germany got Kiaochow Bay and exclusive rights in Shantung and in the Hwang-Ho valley. Russia took Liaotung Peninsula, along with the right to build railroads in Manchuria. France received Kwangchow Bay and

British and French troops entered Beijing and captured it in October 1860

extensive rights in three southern provinces of China Britain got Wei-hi-Wei in addition to her sphere of influence in the Yangtze valley

The United States feared that China would be completely parcelled out in exclusive spheres of influence and that its trade with China would be shut off. The United States, therefore, suggested the policy known as the 'Open Door'. This policy is also described as 'Me too' policy According to this policy, all countries would have equal rights to trade anywhere in China Britain supported the United States thinking that this policy would discourage the annexation of China by Japan and Russia, the two countries that could most easily send their armies to the mainland

The scramble for privileges stopped in China after an uprising against the foreign powers known as the Boxer Rebellion. But the foreign powers were victorious and levied heavy damages on China as punishment Imperialism continued, with the cooperation of Chinese warlords. These military commanders were supported by the loans which they got from foreign powers in exchange for more privileges. Though China was not conquered and occupied by any imperialist country, the effects of these developments on China were the same as in areas which had been colonized In a period of a few decades, China had been reduced to the status of an international colony

The division of China into spheres of influence has often been described as the 'cutting of the Chinese melon'

Imperialism in South and South-East Asia

South and South-East Asia includes Nepal, Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China, Thailand and the Philippines Even before the rise of the new imperialism, many of these countries were already dominated by the Europeans Sri Lanka was occupied by the Portuguese, then by the Dutch, and later by the British England introduced tea and rubber plantations, which came to form seven-eighths of Sri Lanka's exports. The Dutch lost Malaya to the British, including Singapore, lying at the tip of the Malaya peninsula. The conquest of Malaya and Singapore meant control of all the trade of the Far East that passed through the Straits of Malacca. Indonesia and the surrounding islands were under Dutch control After 1875, Holland extended her control over a group of islands known as the Moluccas.

The area in South-East Asia once called Indo-China consists of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. When England was fighting

A contemporary Chinese print showing the French invasion of Son Tay in Indo-China in 1884

China over the opium trade, France was trying to extend her commerce in Indo-China. In a series of planned steps which included threats of war, France became the master of Indo-China and the separate states were grouped together under a French governor-general. Frequent revolts against French rule followed, but they were suppressed or, as the French said, 'pacified'.

In 1880, the king of Burma gave France the right to build a railway from Tonkin to

Mandalay The French were trying to dominate all of South-East Asia. The British government, fearing French expansion, started a war with Burma. The Burmese king was captured and sent to India Burma was annexed and became a part of Britain's empire in India in 1886.

Thailand, or Siam, remained an independent state, though sandwiched between the French conquests in Indo-China and of the British in Burma But France and England exercised much power and authority over its affairs

The United States joined in the race of imperialist expansion in South-East Asia in the late nineteenth century A revolt of the Cubans in the Caribbean against Spanish rule led the United States into a war with

Spain There was a revolt of the Filipinos against Spanish rule and the United States occupied Cuba and the Philippines The Filipinos revolted against the American occupation but were suppressed and the Philippines became an American possession The United States paid 20 million dollars to Spain for the Philippines.

Imperialism in Central and Western Asia

England and Russia were rivals in the struggle to control Central Asia, Iran (Persia), Afghanistan and Tibet The Russian empire succeeded in annexing almost all of Central Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century The conflict between England and Russia came to a head over Iran and Afghanistan Besides some minor economic interests in these countries, Britain was mainly concerned about defending her conquests in India against the expansion of Russia in Central Asia. Russia and England set up banks in Iran to obtain economic control In 1907, England and Russia reached an agreement according to which southern Iran became Britain's sphere of influence and northern Iran the Russian sphere of influence. The central part of Iran was neutral and open to both Meanwhile, the struggle was on between Britain and Russia for mastery over Afghanistan and Tibet Finally in 1907, Britain and Russia reached an agreement over these two countries and Iran Both powers agreed not to interfere in Tibet Russia agreed to recognize Afghanistan as being outside her influence and Britain agreed not to annex Afghanistan as long as her ruler remained loyal to her The division of Iran into three zones has already been mentioned This meant the establishment of joint Anglo-Russian supremacy over Iran. After the Russian Revolution broke out in 1917, the new Soviet government denounced the old Anglo-Russian agreement and gave up her rights in Iran However, Iran was occupied by British troops

Meanwhile, oil had been found in Iran and British and American oil interests became powerful Iran remained nominally independent but was increasingly under the domination of foreign oil companies — the Standard Oil Company of the United States and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company of England. After the overthrow of the monarchy in China in 1911, Tibet increasingly passed under British influence.

Germany, during these years, was extending her influence over Turkey and the Asian possessions of the Turkish empire. A German company obtained a concession to build a railway from Constantinople to Baghdad and the persian Gulf. Through this railway, Germany hoped to promote her economic interests in this region, and on to Iran and India France, England and Russia opposed this, but an agreement to divide the region was reached between Germany, France and England. The First World War, however, changed the situation. Germany and Turkey, allies in the war, were defeated Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Arabia were taken away from Turkey and they passed under the control of England and France Thus, Germany as an imperialist nation was completely eliminated from Asia and other parts of the world. Soon, oil and the concessions to control oil resources became the major objectives of the imperialist countries in Western Asia American oil companies, in partnership with England and France, got oil concessions in Arabia

Japan as an Imperialist Power

Japan started on her programme of imperialist expansion in the last decade of the

nineteenth century Western countries had tried to establish their foothold there In 1853 American warships under Commodore Perry had, after a show of force, compelled the Japanese to open their country to American shipping and trade This was followed by similar agreements by Japan with Britain, Holland, France and Russia. However, Japan escaped the experience and fate of other Asian countries. In 1867, after a change in government, known as Meiji Restoration, Japan began to modernize her economy Within a few decades, she became one of the most industrialized countries of the world But the forces that made many of the Western countries imperialist were also active in the case of Japan. Japan had few raw materials to support her industries. So she looked for lands that had them and for markets to sell her manufactured goods

China provided ample opportunities for Japan's imperialist designs. You have already read of the war between China and Japan over Korea, in 1894 After this, Japan's influence in China increased The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902 recognized her as a power of equal standing with the great European powers. In 1904-5 she defeated Russia. As a result of this war, the southern half of Sakhalin was ceded to Japan. Japan also gained control of the southern part of the Liaotung Peninsula with Port Arthur which was leased to her In 1910, Korea became a colony of Japan. When the First World War began in 1914, Japan could look back with some pride at her record of the last fifty years. She had become a great power and could expand further at the cost of China if the Western powers would only allow her to do so

However, her own record was, if anything, worse than that of Western imperialists In fact, Japan's rise as an imperialist power helped to show that imperialism was not limited to any one people or region Rather, it was the result of greed for economic and political power which could distort the policy of any country regardless of its race or cultural claims.

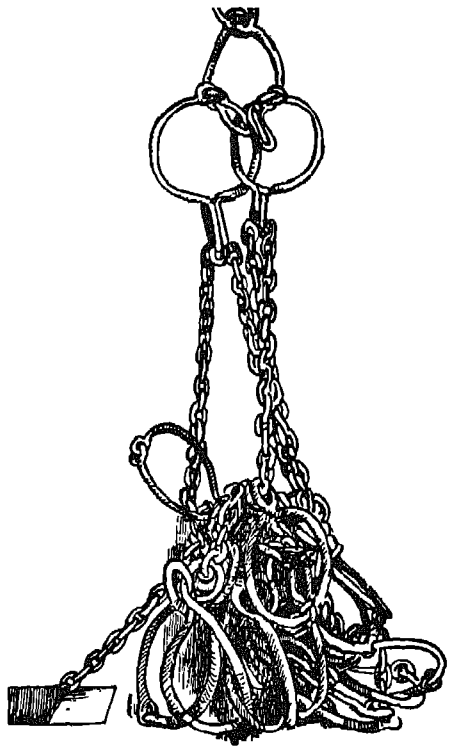
To sum up, almost all of Asia had been swallowed up by the imperialist countries by the early years of the twentieth century.

IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

You have already read in Chapter 4 (Vol.1) about the emergence of civilization and the formation of states, kingdoms and empires in different parts of Africa You have also read about the contacts which African cultures and civilizations had with the rest of the world since ancient times From the time of European explorations in the later part of the fifteenth century, a new phase began in the history of some parts of Africa Besides the establishment of commercial relations with some parts of Africa, this phase was characterized by slave trade As mentioned earlier, till about the last quarter of the nineteenth century, European control over Africa extended over about one-fifth of the territory of the continent. However, within a few years almost the entire continent was partitioned among various European imperialist countries though it took them much longer to establish their actual effective occupation

Slave Trade

The European penetration of Africa from the late fifteenth century onwards was confined for a long time mainly to certain coastal areas However, even these limited contacts led to the most tragic and disastrous consequences for the people of



Slave Chains

Africa. One of the first results of these contacts was the purchase and sale of people —the slave trade. The Spanish rule in the Americas had resulted in the large-scale extermination of the original inhabitants of the Americas The Portuguese had established a slave market in Lisbon and the Spaniards bought slaves from there and took them to their colonies in the Americas to work there. African villages were raided by slave traders and people were captured and handed over to the European traders Earlier, the Arabs had dominated the slave trade. Subsequently, some African chiefs also took part in the slave trade by trading slaves in exchange for firearms which the European traders sold to them .The Europeans themselves also raided the villages and enslaved the people, who were then transported. When the demand for slaves in America increased, they were sent directly from Africa by the traders.

The trade in African slaves was started by the Portuguese. Soon the English took over. In 1562, Sir John Hawkins, a rich English merchant, who was known to be very religious, went on his first voyage to Africa to bring slaves in a ship called *Jesus* The reigning English monarch, Elizabeth I, received a share of the profits that Hawkins made in selling the slaves that he had brought In the seventeenth century, a regular company received a charter from the King of England for purposes of trade in slaves Later, Spain gave the monopoly of slave trade with her possessions in America to England The share of the king in the profits from slave trade was fixed at 25 per cent

Up to about the middle of the nineteenth century this trade continued. Millions of Africans were uprooted from their homes Many were killed while resisting the raids on their villages by the traders. They were taken in ships as inanimate objects and in such unhygienic conditions that the sailors on the ships often revolted Lakhs of them died during the long journey. It is estimated that not even half of the slaves captured reached America alive. The inhuman conditions under which they were forced to work on the plantations cannot even be imagined today Extreme brutalities were inflicted on those who tried to escape. The person who killed a runaway slave was given a reward by the government. Slavery had become an integral part of the colonial system established by European countries during this period.

By early nineteenth century, trade in

Slaves being sold at an auction

slaves lost its importance in the system of colonial exploitation Slavery was also a hindrance if the interior of Africa was to be opened to colonial exploitation In fact, some colonial powers used the pretext of abolishing slave trade to go to war against African chiefs and kings to expand their territorial possessions. In the meantime, exploration of the interior of Africa had begun and preparations made by the European powers to impose another kind of slavery on the continent of Africa —for the direct conquest of almost entire Africa

Scramble for Africa

The interior of Africa was almost unknown to the Europeans up to about the middle of the nineteenth century. The coastal regions were largely in the hands of the old trading nations —the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French They had set up their forts there There were only two places where the European rule extended deep into the interior. In the north the French had conquered Algeria. In the south the English had occupied Cape Colony to safeguard their commerce with India. It had earlier been a Dutch colony where a number of Europeans, mainly the Dutch, had settled. These settlers, known as Boers, had taken to farming This was the only part of Africa where a large number of Europeans were settled Within a few years, however, a scramble for colonies began and almost the entire continent had been cut up and divided among European powers

Explorers, traders and missionaries played their respective roles in the conquest of Africa. The explorers aroused the Europeans' interest in Africa The missionaries saw the continent as a place for spreading the message of Christianity. The inte-rests created by explorers and missionaries were soon used by the traders Western governments supported all these interests by sending troops, and the stage was set for conquest

Even though the European powers met with stiff resistance from the Africans and it took them a long time to establish effective occupation of their colonies, the speed with which the European powers

conquered Africa is without a parallel It is necessary to understand the reasons for this The external factors have been broadly mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter. The economic might of the imperialist powers was much greater than the economic resources of the African states The latter did not have the resources to fight a long war In terms of military strength, the imperialist countries were far more powerful than the African states The Africans had outdated firearms which had been sold to them by the Europeans They were no match for the new rifles and guns which the Europeans used The couplet of an English poet is often quoted to bring out this superiority.

Whatever happens we have got
The maxim-gun and they have not

The Maxim-gun was a fast firing new gun which was used against the Africans who often fought with axes and knives Politically, like Indian states in the eighteenth century, the African states were not united There were conflicts between states and within states and the rulers and chiefs often sought the support of the Europeans against their rivals As a result of these conflicts, the boundaries of the African states were often changing As against this, the imperialist countries participating in the scramble for Africa were united The scramble had created serious rivalries among them. In fact, the scramble to grab the maximum of African territory in the shortest possible time was the result of these rivalries. Many a time during the scramble wars between these countries were imminent But in every case, war was avoided and agreements reached between them as to who will get which part of Africa. For example, the Anglo-German rivalries in East Africa were resolved in 1890 when Germany agreed to concede Uganda to Britain in exchange for Britain giving away Heligoland to Germany In 1884-85, there was a Congress in Berlin where a group of European states met and discussed how to share out Africa among themselves No African state was represented at this Congress. Treaties were signed between European powers to settle disputes over claims to African territories between themselves Treaties were also signed between African rulers and chiefs, and the representatives of European governments or European companies and individuals which were later sanctioned by their respective governments. These treaties were often fraudulent and bogus In the cases where these were genuine, they were misrepresented in negotiations with other European countries and the wrong interpretations put on them were recognised by other European powers For example, if an African ruler signed a treaty with a European country to seek the latter's support against a rival, that European country in seeking approval of other European countries interpreted it to mean that the African ruler had agreed to make his state a 'protectorate' of that European country This interpretation was then accepted by other European powers and the process of occupation began without any hindrance from them In this way, the partition of Africa was nearly completed by the end of the nineteenth century. This position is generally referred to as 'paper partition' as the actual partition took much longer and was accomplished by the use of the superior military might of the European powers to suppress the resistance by the Africans A look at the map of Africa after partition

will show how the continent of Africa was partitioned on paper in conference rooms in Europe About thirty per cent of all boundaries in Africa are in straight lines

It will be easier to understand the conquest of Africa by European powers if we study it region by region. We must remember, however, that occupation did not take place in the order described here

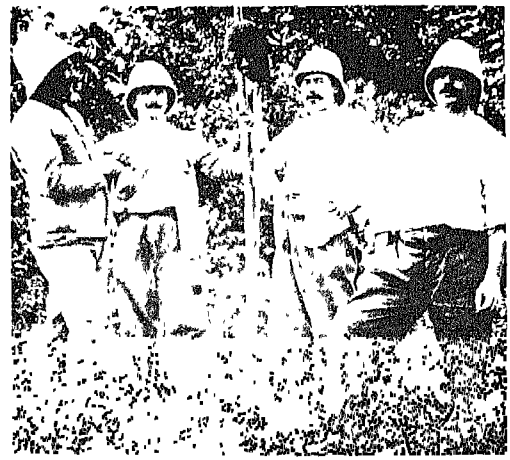
West and Central Africa

In 1878, with the financial assistance of King Leopold II of Belgium, H M. Stanley founded the International Congo Association which made over 400 treaties with African chiefs They did not understand that by placing their 'marks' on bits of paper they were transferring their land to the Congo Association in exchange for cloth or other articles of no great value Stanley acquired large tracts of land by these methods. In 1885 some 2.3 million square kilometres, rich in rubber and ivory, became the 'Congo Free State' with Leopold as its king.

Stanley called the occupation of Congo (the present Zaire) 'a unique humanitarian and political enterprise', but it began with brutal exploitation of the Congo people They were forced to collect rubber and ivory Leopold alone is said to have made a profit of over 20 million dollars The treatment of the Congolese people was so bad that even other colonial powers were shocked To give an example of the brutality, soldiers of the Congo Free State chopped off the hands of the defiant villagers and brought them as souvenirs In 1908, Leopold was compelled to hand over the Congo Free State to the Belgian government, and it became known as Belgian Congo

Gradually, Congo's gold, diamond, uranium, timber and copper became more important than her rubber and ivory. Many of the countries, including England and the United States, joined Belgium in exploiting these resources The company which controlled the copper resources of Katanga province (present Shaba) was one of the biggest copper companies in the world. This company, jointly owned by English and Belgian interests, played a very big role in Congo's political affairs

Locate the Niger river, the second great river of western Africa, on the map The control over the Niger meant the control



French soldiers displaying the head of an African killed by them during the suppression of the resistance to French occupation of the Ivory Coast in the early years of the twentieth century

over the land with rich resources The British had occupied a part of this region called Nigeria, to get slaves for export to their plantations in America The British company took the initiative in the conquest of Nigeria For a time there was a sharp rivalry with a French company, but in the end the British company was able to buy

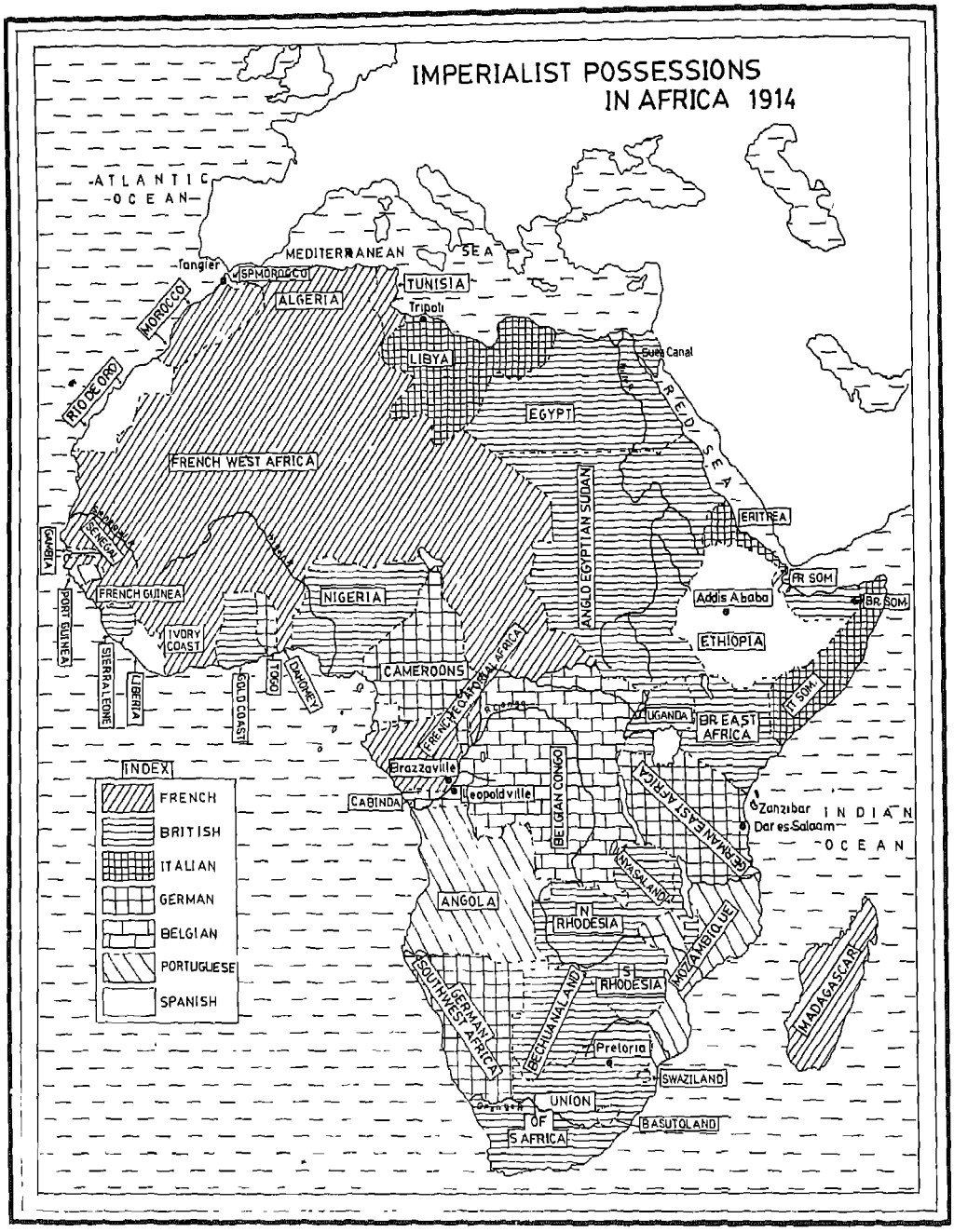
out the French and became the ruler of Nigeria After a few years the British government declared Nigeria a protectorate of Britain In West Africa, Britain also occupied Gambia, Ashanti, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone

When Stanley was carving out the empire for King Leopold in Congo, a Frenchman, de Brazza, was active north of the Congo river Following the methods of Stanley, de Brazza won the area for France, this area became what was until recently called the French Congo with its capital town named Brazzaville, after de Brazza. On Africa's west coast, Senegal and been occupied by France earlier Now France set out to extend her empire in West Africa. Soon she obtained Dahomey (present Benin), the Ivory Coast and French Guinea By the year 1900, the French empire extended further into the interior. More territories were added to the West African conquests after 1900 and French West Africa came to include present Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Mauritania, French Sudan, Upper Volta and Niger Territory. The French conquest resulted in brutal exploitation of the people everywhere in Africa For example, in a period of only 20 years, the population of the French Congo was reduced to one-third of its former size.

German troops on way to suppress the rebellion in South-West Africa (Namibia) which had broken out against German occupation in 1904

After 1880, Germany also got very interested in possessions in Africa First she occupied an area called Togoland on the west coast; soon after, the Cameroons, a little farther south. Still farther south, the Germans established themselves in South-West Africa where, to suppress local rebels, more than half of the population was exterminated. But these conquests did not satisfy Germany; she wanted the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and Congo for herself Before the First World War started, England and Germany agreed to partition Angola and Mozambique between themselves, but the war shattered Germany's dreams. After the war, when the German colonies were given to the victorious powers, Togoland and the Cameroons were divided between England and France, and German South-West Africa was given to South Africa

Spain had only two colonies on the western coast of Africa —Rio de Oro (Spanish Sahara) and Spanish Guinea. Portugal possessed valuable regions of Angola and Portuguese Guinea. Thus, with the exception of Liberia, the whole of West Africa was divided up among the Europeans Liberia was settled by slaves who had been freed in America. Though she remained independent, she came increasingly under the influence of the United States, particularly the American investors in rubber plantations


IMPERIALIST POSSESSIONS
IN AFRICA 1914
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tangier
SPMOROCCO
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
Tripoli
LIBYA
Suez Canal
RED SEA
RIO DE ORO
EGYPT
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
ANGLO EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ERITREA
GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
FRENCH GUINEA
PORT GUINEA
NIGERIA
Addis Ababa
FR SOM
BR SOM
IVORY COAST
ETHIOPIA
LIBERIA
GOLD COAST
TOGO
DAHOMEY
CAMEROONS
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
UGANDA
BR EAST AFRICA
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FRENCH
BRITISH
ITALIAN
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BELGIAN
PORTUGUESE
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Brazzaville
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BELGIAN CONGO
CABINDA
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Zanzibar
Dar es-Salaam
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NYASALAND
ANGOLA
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MOZAMBIQUE
SOUTHWEST AFRICA
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
MADAGASCAR
Pretoria
SWAZILAND
UNION OF S AFRICA
BASUTOLAND

South Africa

In south Africa, the Dutch had established the Cape Colony, which the British took over in the early nineteenth century. The Dutch settlers, known as Boers, then went north and set up two states, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. By 1850 both these states were ruled by the Boers

The English adventurer, Cecil Rhodes, came to south Africa in 1870, made a fortune in mining diamond and gold of this region and gave his name to an African colony Rhodesia. (Northern Rhodesia is now independent and is called Zambia. Southern Rhodesia which became an independent nation in April 1980 is Zimbabwe.) Rhodes became famous as a great philanthropist who founded the 'Rhodes scholarships', but he was first of all a profiteer and empire-builder. 'Pure philanthropy', he said, 'is very well in its way, but philanthropy plus five per cent is a good deal better' Rhodes' dream was to extend the British rule throughout the world, and he certainly succeeded in extending the British empire in Africa. The British occupied Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, Swaziland and Basutoland. They plotted the overthrow of the Boer government of Transvaal which was rich in gold This led to the Boer War (1899-1902) in which the Boers were defeated though they continued to remain there.

Soon after this, the Union of South Africa was formed consisting of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange River Colony. This Union was ruled by the white minority —Boers, Englishmen, and a few settlers from other European countries The South African government later declared itself a republic.

East Africa

Except for the Portuguese possession of a part of Mozambique, East Africa had not been occupied by any European power before 1884. In that year a German adventurer, named Karl Peters, came to the coastal region. Using bribery and threats, he persuaded some rulers to sign agreements placing themselves under German protection Since France and Britain also had plans in this area, an agreement was signed by which France got Madagascar, and East Africa was divided between Germany and England. The ruler of Zanzibar who claimed East Africa as his property got a strip of coast land, 1600 kilometres long and 16 kilometres deep The Northern half of this strip was reorganized as a British sphere of influence, and the southern part. Tanganyika, a German sphere of influence. These were later occupied by England and Germany But the Africans rose in revolt again and again because the Germans had taken land from them without making any payment. During a rebellion in 1905, 120,000 Africans were killed in this German colony In 1890, there was an agreement between Germany and England according to which Uganda was 'reserved' for England. In exchange Germany was given Heligoland In 1896, Uganda was declared a British protectorate Germany also gave up her claims to Zanzibar and Pemba island, Witu and Nyasaland (present Malawi), but made more conquests in the interior The Portuguese colony of Mozambique was to be shared out between Germany and England, but the First World War stopped the plan and Germany lost all her colonies. German East Africa was given to England after the war and was renamed Tanganyika. (Tanganyika and Zanzibar now form the republic of Tanzania) British East Africa was renamed Kenya. The German possession of Ruanda-Urundi was given to Belgium

Like Germany, Italy entered the colonial race late. The Italians occupied two desert areas in what is called the 'horn of Africa'—Somaliland and Eritrea. The country of Abyssinia, now known as Ethiopia, was an independent state. Italy wanted to declare Abyssinia its protectorate and invaded her. The king of Abyssinia rejected Italy's claim and in 1896 defeated the Italian invading army Unlike other African states, Abyssinia had been able to get arms from France This historic battle in which an African state had defeated a European state's army is known as the Battle of Adowa So the Italians had to withdraw Italy made another attempt to conquer Abyssinia in 1935, before the Second World War Except for a brief period during those years, Ethiopia, except Eritrea, was able to maintain her independence

North Africa

Algeria, on the north coast of Africa, was conquered by France in 1830, but it took her about 40 years to suppress the Algerian resistance. It was the most profitable of France's colonial possessions, providing her a vast market for French goods To the east of Algeria is Tunisia which was coveted by France, England and Italy According to an agreement in 1878, England gave France a free hand in Tunisia in return for British occupation of the island of Cyprus, and a few years later Tunisia became a French possession

Morocco is situated on the north coast of Africa, just south of Gibraltar Thus it is very important to the western entrance of the Mediterranean Both France and Italy wanted to claim it as their territory The two countries agreed, in 1900, to the French occupation of Morocco and to the Italian occupation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, to the east of Tunisia In 1904, France and England signed an agreement which gave Morocco to France, and Egypt to England. After these agreements had been signed, France proceeded with her plans of conquest of Morocco

Germany had been ignored when England, France and Italy were signing agreements to partition North Africa She threatened to oppose the French occupation Spain had been promised Tangier in return for French occupation of Morocco. So it became necessary to appease German ambitions in North Africa There were many international crises and it appeared as if war would break out The German Foreign Minister said, "You have bought your liberty in Morocco from Spain, England, and even from Italy, and you have left us out." But who should occupy Morocco was decided, as in other cases, in Europe The people of Morocco were never consulted. Ultimately, France agreed to give Germany 250,000 square kilometres of French Congo. Spain was further appeased by giving her a small part of Morocco In 1912 France established her protectorate over Morocco However, it took the French many years after the First World War to suppress the rebellions there.

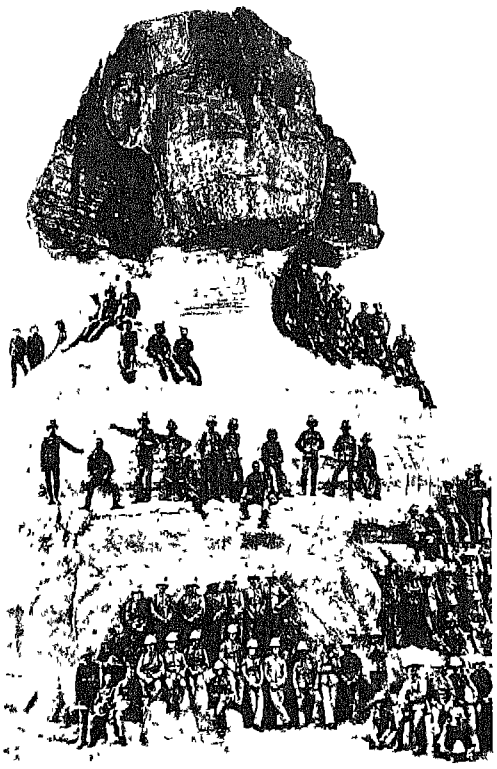
As you have seen earlier, Italy had assured herself the support of European nations in her claims over Tripoli and Cyrenaica, which were the possessions of the Turkish empire Italy then declared war against Turkey and occupied the two provinces, which were given the old Roman name of Libya

Egypt was a province of the Turkish empire when the scramble for colonies began in the nineteenth century. It was ruled by a representative of the Turkish Sultan, called Pasha Since the time of Napoleon,

France had been interested in Egypt A French company had gained a concession from Ismail Pasha, the Governor of Egypt, to dig a canal across the isthmus of Suez. The canal was completed in 1869 and aroused British interest in the area Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, bought a large number of shares of the canal from the Pasha to make sure of keeping the route to India safe The canal was described by Disraeli as 'a highway to our Indian empire'

The financial troubles of the Pasha led to increased joint Anglo-French control over Egypt When the Pasha tried to resist, he was forced to abdicate and a new governor was appointed In 1882, there was a revolt against the Anglo-French control and, in suppressing the revolt, the British armies conquered Egypt Restoration of law and order and protection of the Suez Canal were the reasons given for the military intervention in Egypt England announced that she would withdraw her troops as soon as order was restored After the revolt was suppressed, Egypt came under British control. In 1914, when the First World War started, England announced that Egypt was no longer a Turkish province but a British protectorate. The Egyptians never reconciled themselves to the British conquest. After the war was over, leaders of Egypt started for the Paris Peace Conference to plead the case of Egypt, but they were arrested. In 1922, though she still retained her rights over the Suez and many other concessions, Britain was forced to recognize Egypt as an independent sovereign state

Sudan, or what was earlier known as Egyptian Sudan, was jointly exploited by Egypt and Britain. A Sudanese leader who had proclaimed himself the Mahdi had in



British troops posing against the Sphinx, the ancient Egyptian monument, in 1906

the 1880s succeeded in overthrowing Egyptian and British control over Sudan His army had defeated Egyptian and British troops In 1898, British and Egyptian troops succeeded in recapturing Sudan after a long and bloody war in which 20,000 Sudanese troops, including the successor of the Mahdi, were killed. Sudan came under British rule. The French at this time tried to occupy southern parts of Sudan but were forced to withdraw by the British France, however, was given a free hand to extend her control over what was known as western Sudan and the Sahara France occupied these areas after a long war of conquest. With these gains, France was able to

connect her *equatorial* conquests with her west and north African conquests

THE AMERICAS AND THE PACIFIC

You have already read about the colonization of the Americas by Spain, Portugal, Britain, France and other European countries, and the emergence of the United States of America as an independent nation. The freedom movements in some of the countries of South America and the Caribbeans have also been briefly mentioned By 1820s, almost all countries of the Americas had gained their independence from Spain and Portugal Only a few colonies ruled by European countries were left in this part of the world. Among these were Cuba and Puerto Rico which were still under Spanish rule and a few others under British, French, Dutch and Danish rule

The United States in the nineteenth century emerged as the biggest power in the Americas. She had extended her territories through war with Mexico and purchase of Louisiana Florida and Alaska from France, Spain and Russia, respectively Within a short period after the Civil War (1861-65) which ended in the abolition of slavery, the United States emerged as a major industrial and military power in the world. By 1900, her naval strength was third in the world The forces that had led to the emergence of imperialism in Europe and later in Japan also led to the emergence of the United States as a major imperialist power by the later half of the nineteenth century You have already read about the treaty which the United States signed with China in 1844 on the lines which some European countries had forced on China after the Opium War Commodore Perry's show of force in Japan in 1853 has also been mentioned After the U S. – Spanish War, the Philippines had become a U.S. colony. U S A. had also taken Puerto Rico and Guam (in the Pacific) from Spain, and Cuba, though independent in name, had in fact become an appendage of U S A

When the scramble for colonies began, the leaders of U S A declared that she 'must not fall out of the line of march'. They also claimed, like the European imperialist countries, the right to 'civilize' the backward countries of the world and, of course, to interfere in the affairs of other countries to protect their markets and investments

During the period from the 1890s to the early years of the twentieth century, the United States spread its control, direct and indirect, over South America and the Pacific In 1823, the President of the United States had proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine which warned the European powers against any attempt to extend their power in the Western Hemisphere In 1895, the Monroe Doctrine was given a new meaning There was a territorial dispute between British Guiana (now Guyana) and Nicaragua, and the British threatened to send troops against Nicaragua The U S government forced Britain not to send her troops and declared that "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this Continent". A new corollary was added to the Monroe Doctrine in 1904 by the then U.S. President, Theodore Roosevelt Britain and Germany had imposed a naval blockade of Venezuela as she had failed to repay the loan which she had taken from them Theodore Roosevelt forced Britain and Germany to lift the blockade and declared that the United States alone had the right to intervene in the affairs of her neighbouring countries if they were unable to maintain

order on their own. The United States took control of the finances of the Dominican Republic which she retained for three decades and occupied that country in 1916 for eight years In 1906, American troops were sent to Cuba and remained there for three years to 'protect' Cuba from disorder. In 1909, American troops were sent to Nicaragua in support of a revolt which had been inspired by an American mining company The United States secured from the government which had been installed there the right to intervene in that country to protect American interests In 1915, American troops were sent to Haiti and remained there till 1934 In Mexico, where the United States had huge investments, Fransisco Madero, a popular leader was deposed with the support of the United States The intervention by the United States in Mexico continued for many years

The policy of the United States was described as the 'Big Stick' policy and one of an 'international policeman'. The extension of the U S influence through economic investments in the region is known as the 'Dollar diplomacy' The economic and political domination of South America was facilitated by the absence of strong governments in the countries of South America. Many of these countries were ruled by *caudillos*, or crude and corrupt military leaders with armed gangs They floated loans for ready cash and sold concessions to foreign companies to exploit the natural resources of their countries They served as markets for manufactures, and sources of raw materials for industrialized countries, particularly the United States, as well as avenues for investment of capital from these countries. Most of the countries of South America, though politically independent, came under the economic and political control of the United States

Before Fransisco Madero came to power in 1911, Mexico was ruled by Porfirio Diaz for over thirty years In this satirical portrait by the famous Mexican painter Siqueros, Diaz is shown sitting with his feet on the constitution

One of the major acquisitions by the United States in this period was the Panama Canal. A French company had started the construction of the canal in the Isthmus of Panama in Colombia (Central America). The canal which would link the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans was of great economic interest In 1901, the United States decided to undertake the canal project alone

She paid $ 40 million to the French company and entered into an agreement with the government of Colombia. According to the agreement, Colombia was to give the United States perpetual rights to a six-mile wide 'canal zone' across her territory in exchange for ten million dollars plus $ 250,000 as annual rent. The agreement was completely against the interests of Colombia and Colombia's Parliament refused to ratify it In 1903, the United States financed and organized a revolt in Panama and landed her troops there Soon after, the United States recognized Panama as an independent state The government of Panama signed a new agreement with the United States according to which the amount of compensation remained the same but instead of the six-mile wide canal zone, ten-mile canal zone was granted to the United States The canal was opened in 1914 and the canal zone has remained under the occupation of the United States since then.

The United States also extended her control in the Pacific during this period The islands of Hawaii had been important for American shipping and for trade with China The United States' economic and commercial influence gradually increased in these islands and with the settling of Americans there, particularly as sugar planters, these islands became closely tied to the economy of the United States The United States had secured the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor as a naval station. In 1893, the American residents in the Hawaii islands revolted against the queen of Hawaii and asked for the annexation of the islands by the United States. By 1898, Hawaii had been annexed by the United States. Later, it became one of the states of the United States

The United States also ex control over other islands in There was rivalry among the U Britain and Germany over S lands In 1899, Germany and States divided these islands bet selves and as 'compensation' given islands elsewhere in the

EFFECTS OF IMPERIAI

By 1914, almost all parts of the trialized world had come unde or indirect control of a few inc countries Most countries o Africa had lost their political fr were ruled by one or other country. The economies of all tries as well as of those which cally independent were control imperialist countries to serve rests. All parts of the world w together under a world econ which was based on the exploi colonies. Since 1946, most Asi can colonies have become fre pendent You will read about t later But the effects of imperi life of the people in these coun evident.

The most important and la quence of imperialism and colo the economic backwardness of as well as of those countries indirectly controlled by the countries Imperialism led to tion of local industries in thes For example, India for centuri an exporter of textiles. During imperialist rule, India's indige industry was destroyed and sh

importer of British cloth The natural resources of the colonies came under the control of the imperialist countries and were exploited for their own benefit. The industrialization of these countries was prevented Where industries were started, these were subordinated to the interests of the industries of the imperialist countries or for making profits for the companies of the imperialist countries. The modern industries in the colonies had little impact on the life of the people there. The patterns of agriculture in the colonies were also changed to meet the requirements of the industries of the imperialist countries In some countries, the entire agriculture was reduced to the growing of one or two crops For example, Cuba was reduced to the position of a sugar-producing country and little else. There was also naked plunder of natural resources, and exploitation through high demands of revenues and taxes. Some of the best lands in the colonies were taken over by the European planters Imperialism further aggravated the economic backwardness of the non-industrialized countries of the world. The subordination of the economics of these areas to those of the imperialist countries was so complete that even after political independence, most of these countries found it difficult to develop their economics to suit their own interests. The impoverishment of the people of the colonies and of other non-industrialized countries is a continuing consequence of imperialism.

Imperialism also bred racial arrogance and discrimination The idea of the superiority of the white race whom God had created to govern the world, was popularized in the imperialist countries. In their colonies, the white rulers and settlers discriminated against the local inhabitants who were considered inferior to them In most European colonies, there was no intermixing with the local population and the Europeans lived in areas exclusively reserved for them The worst example of racism was South Africa where intermixing of whites and blacks was made a criminal offence It is interesting to know that when Japan emerged as an imperialist power, the Japanese were excluded from being branded as belonging to an inferior race In fact, South Africa gave the Japanese the status of what they called 'honorary whites'

Struggle Against Imperialism

At every step, the imperialist powers met with the resistance of peoples they were trying to enslave Even when the conquest by arms was decisive, foreign rule that ensued was never peaceful for the rulers The conquered peoples organized movements not merely to overthrow foreign rule but also to develop their countries into modern nations In a sense, these movements against imperialism were international in character People striving for freedom in one country supported the cause of peoples in other countries.

Generally speaking, the imperialist countries retained their colonial possessions up to the Second World War But within two decades after the end of the War, most of the countries succeeded in regaining their independence

Most of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century were the years in which the nations of the western world held Asia and Africa as their colonial possessions In the later years of this period of imperialism, about two-thirds of the world's population was living under the rule of one foreign government

or the other. The empires acquired by the European nations were the largest in world history

Imperialism is a story of deception, brutality, and armed might The imperialist powers, however, justified their enslavement of other nations and peoples in the name of 'spreading civilization'

Getting possession of new markets and raw materials and establishing industries to be worked by cheap labour created many 'small' wars and two world conflicts Despite the 'gentlemen's agreements', there was a continuous effort among the western powers to redivide the world as between themselves -- but never with any consideration for the welfare of the people to whom the territory really belonged.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1 Explain why the Industrial Revolution led to the emergence of imperialism
2 Describe the steps, giving examples, by which the imperialist countries `took over' most of Africa
3 Why were Asian and African countries so easily dominated by the Western powers?
4 How did nationalism help to make imperialism `popular' in Europe?
5 Describe the emergence of the United States of America as an imperialist power Give examples
6 Describe the imperialist expansion of Japan up to 1914
7 Explain the meaning of the following terms, with examples.
Sphere of influence, exploitation, extra-territorial rights, protectorate, Monroe Doctrine, Dollar diplomacy

Things to Do

1 Prepare maps of Asia and Africa showing the colonies and spheres of influence of the various imperialist powers before the First World War
2. Study the developments that have taken place in Africa after the revolution in Portugal in April 1974
3 Write an essay on 'Slavery and Slave Trade and the Struggle for their Abolition'

Things to Think about and Discuss

1 How did the empires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries differ from the empires of ancient times —for example, those of the Mauryas, the Romans and of Alexander?
2 Discuss the differences between the imperialist expansion during the sixteenth to the

eighteenth centuries and 1870 to 1914

3. Name and discuss some of the big problems faced by newly independent countries Why are their problems also the problems of all countries?
4 Discuss the long-term impact of imperialist control on the countries of Asia, Africa and South America

CHAPTER 10

The First World War

IN 1914, a war began in Europe which soon engulfed almost the entire world. The damage caused by this war had no precedent in history. In the earlier wars, the civilian populations were not generally involved and the casualties were generally confined to the warring armies. The war which began in 1914 was a total war in which all the resources of the warring states were mobilized. It affected the economy of the entire world. The casualties suffered by the civilian population from bombing of the civilian areas and the famines and epidemics caused by the war far exceeded those suffered by the armies. In its impact also, the war had no precedent. It marked a turning point in world history. The battles of the war were fought in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Pacific. Because of the unprecedented extent of its spread and its total nature, it is known as the First World War.

Imperialist Rivalries

The underlying causes of the war were the rivalries and conflicts among the imperialist countries. You have seen before, in Chapter 9, that the imperialist conquest of Asia and Africa was accompanied with conflicts between the imperialist countries. Sometimes the imperialists were able to come to 'peaceful settlements' and agree to divide a part of Asia or Africa among themselves without resorting to the use of force against each other. At other times their rivalries created situations of war. Wars were generally avoided at that time because the possibilities of further conquest were still there. If an imperialist country was excluded from a certain area, it could find some other area to conquer. Sometimes wars did break out between imperialist countries as happened, for instance, between Japan and Russia. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the situation had changed. Most of Asia and Africa had already been divided up and further conquests could take place only by dispossessing some imperialist country of its colonies. So in the period beginning from the last decade of the nineteenth century, imperialist rivalries resulted in attempts to *redivide the world*, creating conditions of war.

You have read before that Germany entered the scramble for colonies late. After the unification of Germany had been achieved, it made tremendous economic progress. By 1914, it had left Britain and France far behind in the production of iron and steel and in many manufactures. It had entered the shipping trade in a big way. One of its ships, the *Imperator*, built in 1912, was the largest in the world. Both Britain and France were alarmed at the expansion of German manufactures as they considered it a serious threat to their position. You have seen that Germany could not

grab many colonies, having arrived late on the scene Most of Asia and Africa had already been occupied by the older imperialist powers The German imperialists, therefore, dreamed of expanding in the east Their ambition was to control the economy of the declining Ottoman empire. For this purpose, they had planned the construction of a railway from Berlin to Baghdad This plan created a fear in Britain, France and Russia as the completion of the Berlin-Baghdad railway would endanger their imperialist ambitions in the Ottoman empire. The Germans had imperialist ambitions elsewhere also, including in Africa

Like Germany, all the major powers in Europe, and Japan also had their imperialist ambitions. Italy, which after her unification had become almost an equal of France in power, coveted Tripoli in North Africa which was under the Ottoman empire She had already occupied Eritrea and Somaliland. France wanted to add Morocco to her conquests in Africa. Russia had her ambitions in Iran, the territories of the Ottoman empire including Constantinople, the Far East and elsewhere The Russian plans clashed with the interests and ambitions of Britain, Germany and Austria. Japan which had also become an imperialist power had ambitions in the Far East and was on way to fulfilling them. She defeated Russia in 1904-05 after having signed an agreement with Britain and was able to extend her influence in the Far East

A contemporary Japanese print showing a naval battle during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05

Britain was involved in a conflict with all other imperialist countries because she had already acquired a vast empire which was to be defended. The rise of any other country was considered a danger to the British empire. She also had her vast international trade to defend against the competition from other countries, and to maintain her control over what she considered the lifeline of her empire. Austria had her ambitions in the Ottoman empire The United States of America had emerged as a powerful nation by the end of the nineteenth century She had annexed the Philippines Her main interest was to preserve the independence of trade as her trade was expanding at a tremendous rate The expansion of other major powers' influence was considered a threat to American interests

Conflicts within Europe

Besides the conflicts resulting from rivalries over colonies and trade, there were conflicts among the major European powers over certain developments within Europe There were six major powers in Europe at this time—Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France and Italy One of the questions with which almost all these countries got involved concerned the countries comprising the Balkan peninsula in Europe The Balkan countries had been under the rule of Ottoman Turks However, in the nineteenth century, the Ottoman rule had begun to collapse There were revolts by various nationalities for independence The Russian Czars hoped that these areas would come under their control once the Ottomans were ousted from there They encouraged a movement called the Pan-Slav movement which was based on the theory that all the Slavs of eastern Europe were one people Many areas in Austria-Hungary were inhabited by the Slavs Russia, therefore, encouraged movements both against the Ottoman empire and Austria-Hungary The major Balkan country, Serbia, led the movement for uniting the areas inhabited by the Slavs in the Ottoman empire as well as in Austria-Hungary The Serbian nationalism was encouraged by Russia Other major European powers were alarmed at the growth of Russian influence in the Balkans. They wanted to check the Russian influence, while Austria-Hungary had plans of expansion in this area.

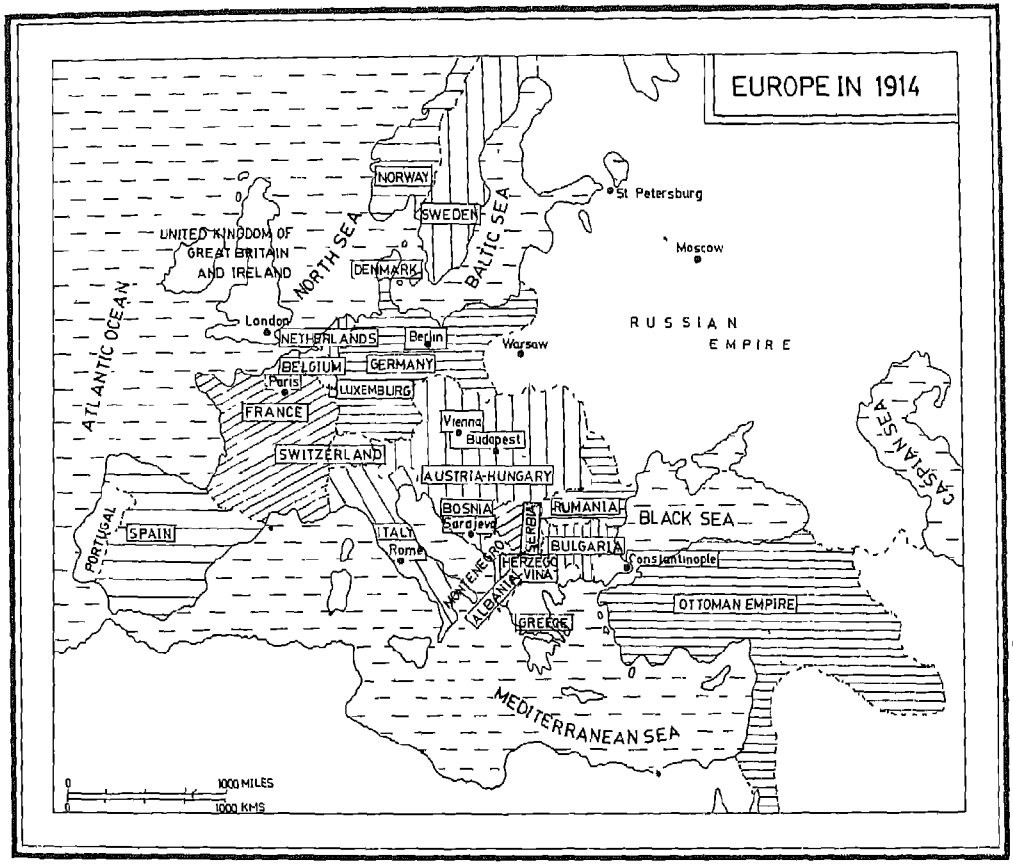
Corresponding to the Pan-Slav movement, there was a Pan-German movement which aimed at the expansion of Germany all over central Europe and in the Balkans Italy claimed certain areas which were under Austrian rule. France hoped to recover not only Alsace-Lorraine which she had lost to Germany in 1871 but also to wreak vengeance on Germany for the humiliating defeat that she had suffered in the war with Germany in 1870-71.

Formation of Alliances

The conflicts within Europe and the conflicts over colonies mentioned earlier had begun to create a very tense situation in Europe from the last decade of the nineteenth century European countries began to form themselves into opposing groups They also started spending vast sums of money to increase the size of their armies and navies, to develop new and more deadly weapons, and to generally prepare themselves for war, Europe was gradually becoming a vast armed camp Simultaneously, propaganda for war, to breed hatred against other countries, to paint one's own country as superior to others, and to glorify war, was started in each country.

There were, of course, people who raised their voice against the danger of war and against militarization You have read of the attitude of the Second International and the various socialist parties But soon all these voices were to be drowned in the drum-beats of war

The opposing groups of countries of alliances that were formed in Europe not only added to the danger of war, but also made it inevitable that when the war broke out it would assume a worldwide magnitude European countries had been forming and reforming alliances since the nineteenth century. Finally, in the first decade of the twentieth century, two groups of countries or alliances, emerged and faced each other with their armed might In 1882 was formed the Triple Alliance comprising Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy However, Italy's loyalty to this Alliance was uncertain as her main aim was to gain territories in Europe from Austria-Hungary and in conquering Tripoli with French support As opposed to this, emerged the Triple Entente comprising France, Russia



and Britain in 1907. In theory it was only a loose group based on mutual understanding as the word 'Entente' (meaning 'an understanding') indicates The emergence of these two hostile camps made it inevitable that a conflict involving any one of these countries would become an all-European war As the aims of the countries in these camps included the extension of their colonial possessions, an all-European war almost certainly would become a world war The formation of these hostile camps was accompanied with a race to build more and more deadly weapons and have larger and larger armies and navies.

A series of crises took place during the years preceding the war. These crises added to the bitterness and tension in Europe and engendered national chauvinism European countries also entered into secret treaties to gain territories at the expense of others. Often, these secret treaties leaked out and fear and suspicion grew in each country about such treaties These fears and suspicions brought the danger of war near

Incidents Preceding the War

The outbreak of the war was preceded by a series of incidents which added to the prevailing tension and ultimately led to the war. One of these was the clash over Morocco In 1904 Britain and France had entered into a secret agreement according to which Britain was to have a free hand in Egypt, and France was to take over Morocco The agreement became known to Germany and aroused her indignation. The German emperor went to Morocco and promised the Sultan of Morocco his full support for the independence of Morocco. The antagonism over Morocco, it appeared, would lead to a war. However, the war was averted when in 1911 France occupied most of Morocco and, in exchange, gave Germany a part of French Congo. Even though the war had been averted, the situation in Europe, with each country preparing for war, had become dangerous

The other incidents which worsened the already dangerous situation in Europe occurred in the Balkans. In 1908 Austria annexed the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina These provinces were also coveted by Serbia which had the backing of Russia in establishing a united Slav state in the Balkans. Russia threatened to start a war against Austrian annexation but Germany's open support to Austria compelled Russia to retreat The incident, however, not only embittered feelings in Serbia but also created further enmity between Russia and Germany The situation in Europe had become even more tense.

The crisis resulting from the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria was followed by Balkan wars In 1912, four Balkan countries —Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece —started a war against the Turks. As a result of this war, Turkey lost almost all her possessions in Europe However, the Balkan countries fought another war over the question of distributing the former Turkish territory among themselves. Finally, Austria succeeded in making Albania, which had been claimed by Serbia, as an independent state. The frustration of Serbia's ambitions further embittered her feelings against Austria These incidents brought Europe on the verge of war.

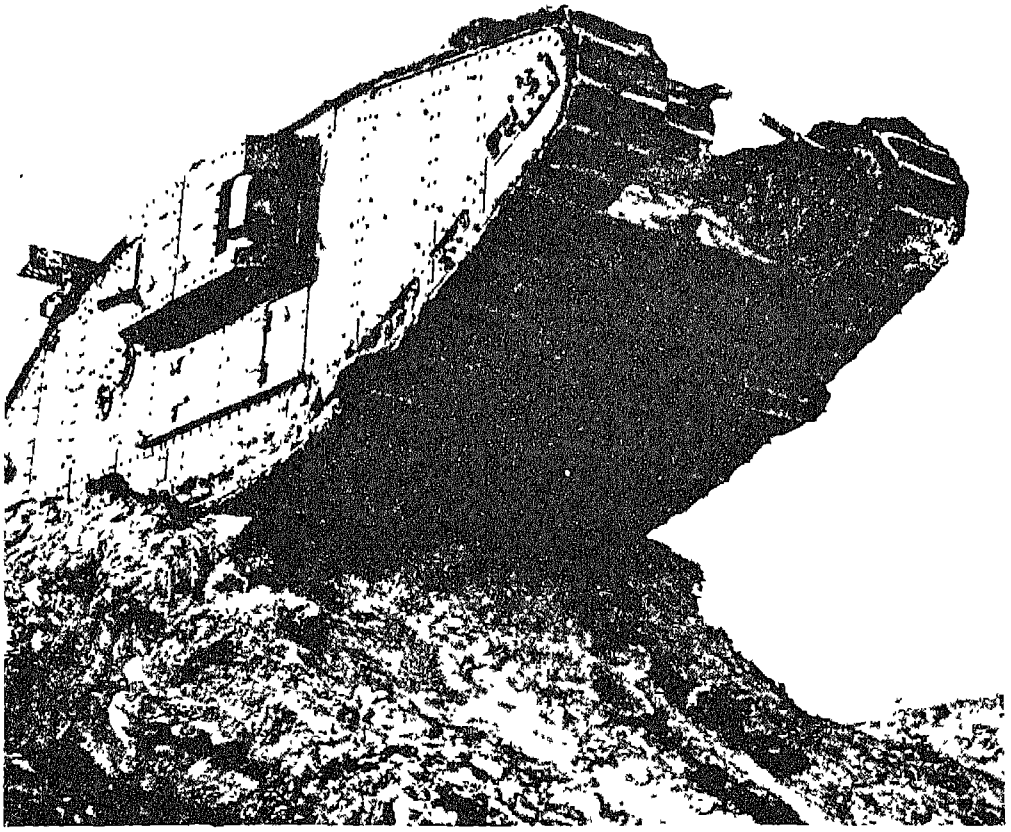
The Outbreak of War

The war was precipitated by an incident which would not have created much stir if Europe had not stood divided into two hostile armed camps, preparing for war for

many years On 28 June 1914 Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, was assassinated at Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia. (Bosnia, it may be recalled, had been annexed by Austria only a few years earlier.) Austria saw the hand of Serbia behind the assassination and served her with an ultimatum Serbia refused to accept one of the demands of the ultimatum which went against the independence of Serbia On 28 July 1914 Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia had promised full support to Serbia and started full scale preparations for war On 1 August, Germany declared war on Russia and on 3 August on France German troops marched into Belgium to press on to France on 4 August and on the same day Britain declared war on Germany

Many other countries soon entered the war. Japan declared war on Germany with a view to capturing German colonies in the

Scene depicting trench warfare during the First World War



The tank was a new weapon to be used during the First World War It was developed first by Britain

Far East, Turkey and Bulgaria joined on the side of Germany Italy, in spite of her membership of the Triple Alliance, remained neutral for some time, and joined the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1915

The Course of the War

Germany had hoped that through a lightning strike through Belgium, she would be able to defeat France within a few weeks and then turn against Russia. The plan seemed to succeed for a while and the German troops were within 20 km of Paris. Russia had opened attacks on Germany and Austria and some German troops had to be diverted to the eastern front Soon the German advance on France was halted and the war in Europe entered a long period of stalemate. In the meantime the war had spread to many other parts of the world and battles were fought in West Asia, Africa and the Far East

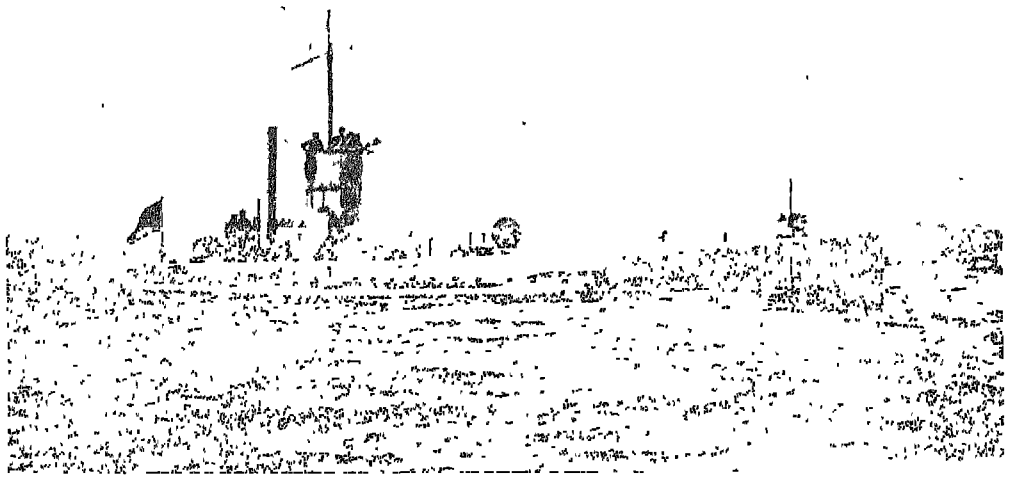
After the German advance had been halted, a new type of warfare developed. The warring armies dug trenches from

which they conducted raids on each other. The kind of warfare that the armies were used to earlier – fighting in the open – almost disappeared. On the Western Front, which included eastern France and Belgium, the troops of the warring sides dug trenches and continued their raids on each other's positions For about four years, neither side could dislodge the other The European countries made use of the troops recruited from their colonies in the war Labour from colonies was also used to dig trenches in Europe On the Eastern Front, Germany and Austria succeeded in repulsing the Russian attack and capturing parts of the Russian empire. They were also successful against Rumania, Serbia and Italy. Outside Europe, there were campaigns against the Ottoman empire in Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia and against Germany and Turkey in Iran where they were trying to establish their influence Japan occupied German possessions in East Asia, and Britain and France seized most of the German colonies in Africa

A large number of new weapons were introduced. The machine gun and liquid fire were two such weapons. For the first time, aircrafts were used in warfare and for bombing the civilian population The British introduced the use of the tank which was to become a major weapon later. Both the warring groups tried to block each other's supplies of food, manufactures and arms and the sea warfare played an important part in this Submarines called U-boats were used by Germany on a large scale not only to destroy enemy ships but also ships of neutral countries heading for British ports Another horrible weapon used in the war was poison gas. The war dragged on, taking a toll of hundreds of thousands of human lives.

On 6 April 1917, the United States of America declared war on Germany USA had become the main source of arms and other essential supplies for the Entente countries In 1915, the German U-Boats had sunk a British ship *Lusitania*. Among the 1153 passengers killed were 128 Americans. The Americans were generally sympathetic to Britain, and this incident further roused anti-German feelings in USA. Economic considerations had turned them even more in favour of the Entente countries These countries had raised vast amounts of loans in USA to pay for the arms and other goods bought by them Many Americans had subscribed to these loans which could be paid back only, if these countries won the war. There was also a fear that if Germany won the war, she would become a serious rival to USA. The sinking of ships, including American ships carrying American citizens, by the German U-boats finally led USA to join the war

Another major development that took place in 1917 was the withdrawal of Russia from the war after October Revolution The Russian revolutionaries had opposed the war from the beginning and, under the leadership of Lenin, had decided to transform it into a revolutionary war to ovethrow the Russian autocracy and to seize power The Russian empire had suffered serious reverses in the war Over 600,000 Russian soldiers had been killed. The day after the Bolshevik government came to power, it issued the Decree on Peace with proposals to end the war without any annexations and indemnities. Russia decided to withdraw from the war and signed a peace treaty with Germany in March 1918. Realizing that the Russian government was not prepared to continue the war, Germany imposed terms which were very harsh on



Germany used submarines, called U-Boats, during the First World War

Russia But the Russian government accepted these terms The Entente powers which were opposed to the revolution in Russia and to the Russian withdrawal from the war started their armed intervention in Russia in support of the elements which were opposed to the revolution. This led to a civil war which lasted for three years and ended with the defeat of foreign intervention and of those Russians who had taken up arms against the revolutionary government

End of the War

Many efforts were made to bring the war to an end In early 1917, a few socialist parties proposed the convening of an international socialist conference to draft proposals for ending the war without annexations and recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination. However, the conference could not be held The proposal of the Bolshevik government in Russia to conclude a peace "without annexations and indemnities, on the basis of the self-determination of peoples" was welcomed by many people in the countries which were at war. However, these proposals were rejected The Pope also made proposals for peace but these too were not taken seriously. Though these efforts to end the war did not get any positive response from the governments of the warring countries, anti-war feelings grew among the people There was widespread unrest and disturbances and even mutinies began to break out. In some countries, following the success of the Russian Revolution, the unrest was soon to take the form of uprisings to overthrow the governments

In January 1918, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, proposed a peace programme. This has become famous as President Wilson's Fourteen

Points These included the conduct of negotiations between states openly, freedom of navigation, reduction of armaments, independence of Belgium, restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, creation of independent states in Europe, formation of an international organization to guarantee the independence of all states, etc. Some of these points were accepted when the peace treaties were signed at the end of the war

Britain, France and USA launched a military offensive in July 1918 and Germany and her allies began to collapse. Bulgaria withdrew from the war in September, and Turkey surrendered in October. Political discontent had been rising in Austria-Hungary and Germany. The emperor of Austria-Hungary surrendered on 3 November In Germany revolution broke out. Germany became a republic and the German emperor Kaiser William II fled to Holland The new German government signed an armistice on 11 November 1918 and the war was over The news was received with tremendous jubilation all over the world

Peace Treaties

The victorious powers or the Allies, as they were called, met in a conference first in Versailles, a suburb of Paris, and later in Paris, between January and June 1919. Though the number of countries represented at the conference was 27, the terms of the peace treaties were really decided by three countries – Britain, France and USA The three persons who played the determining role in framing the terms of the treaties were Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Britain, and George Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France. The defeated countries were not represented at the conference. The victorious powers also excluded Russia from the conference The terms of the treaty were thus not the result of negotiations between the defeated and the victorious powers but were imposed on the defeated by the victors.

The main treaty was signed with Germany on 28 June 1919 It is called the Treaty of Versailles. The republican government of Germany was compelled to sign this treaty under the threat of invasion The treaty declared Germany and her allies guilty of aggression Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France The coal mines in the German area called Saar were ceded to France for 15 years while that area was to be governed by the League of Nations. Germany also ceded parts of her pre-war territory to Denmark, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia The area of the Rhine valley was to be demilitarized The treaty also contained provisions for disarming Germany. The strength of her army was to be limited to 100,000 and she was required not to have any air force and submarines She was dispossessed of all her colonies which were taken over by the victors. Togo and the Cameroon were divided and shared by Britain and France German colonies in South-West Africa and East Africa were given to Britain, Belgium, South Africa and Portugal German colonies in the Pacific and the spheres under her control in China were given to Japan China was aligned with the Allies during the war and was even represented at the Paris Conference But her areas under German possession of control were not restored to China, instead they were given away to Japan Germany was also required to pay for the loss and damages suffered by the Allies during the war The amount of reparations was fixed at an enormous figure of £ 6,600,000,000.

Separate treaties were signed with the allies of Germany Austria-Hungary was broken up and Austria was required to recognize the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland She had to cede territories to them and to Italy Many changes were made in the Balkans where new states were created and transfers of territories from one state to another took place Baltic states which earlier formed parts of the Russian empire were made independent. The treaty with Turkey stipulated the complete dismemberment of the Ottoman empire Britain was given Palestine and Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Syria went to France as what were called 'mandates' In theory, the 'mandatory' powers, that is Britain and France, were to look after the interests of the people of the 'mandates' but actually they were governed as colonies Most of the remaining Turkish territories were to be given to Greece and Italy and Turkey was to be reduced to a very small state. However, there was a revolution in Turkey under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal. The Sultan was deposed and Turkey was proclaimed a republic in 1922. Turkey regained control of Asia Minor and the city of Constantinople (Istanbul) and the Allies were forced to abandon the earlier treaty

An important part of the peace treaties was the Covenant of the League of Nations Wilson's Fourteen Points included the creation of an international organization for the preservation of peace and to guarantee the independence of all states The League of Nations was created. It was intended as a world organization of all independent states. It aimed at the preservation of peace and security and peaceful settlement of international conflicts, and bound its members 'not to resort to war' One of its important provisions was with regard to *sanctions* According to this provision, economic and military action would be taken against any country which committed aggression. It also bound its members to improve labour and social conditions in their countries. For this the International Labour Organization was set up which is now one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

The hopes of having a truly world organization devoted to the preservation of peace and independence of nations were, however, not realized with the formation of the League Two major countries – Germany and the Soviet Union — were not allowed to become its members for many years while India, which was not independent, was made a member The United States which had played an important part in the setting up of the League ultimately decided not to join it. The League was never an effective organization In the 1930s when many countries resorted to aggression, the League was either ignored or defied

An important feature of the peace treaties which indicates its nature was the decision with regard to the colonies of the defeated powers. The Allies had entered into many secret agreements for dividing the spoils of war The Soviet government, to bring out the imperialist nature of the war, made these treaties public. During the war, the Allies had been claiming that the war was being fought for freedom and democracy President Wilson had said that the war was being fought "to make the world safe for democracy". The publication of secret treaties by the Soviet government exposed these claims However, in spite of this, the distribution of the colonies of the defeated countries among the victors

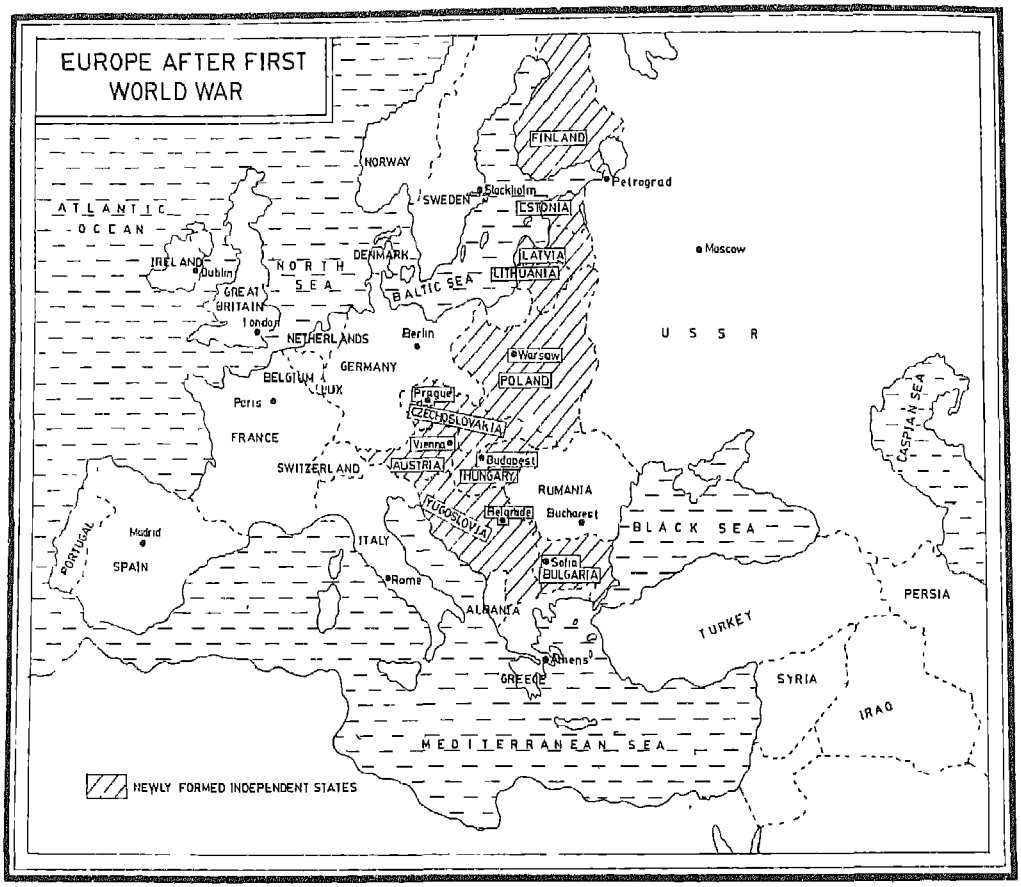
took place as has been mentioned before Of course, the Soviet Union which had repudiated all the secret agreements did not receive any spoils which had been promised to the Russian emperor The League of Nations also recognised this division of the spoils Legally most of the colonies which were transferred to the victorious powers were 'mandates' and could not be annexed.

Consequences of the War and the Peace Treaties

The First World War was the most frightful war that the world had so far seen The devastation caused by it, as stated earlier, had no precedent. The number of persons who fought in the war is staggering. Estimates vary between 53 and 70 million people The total number of those killed and dead in the war are estimated at about nine million, that is, about one-seventh of those who participated in it Several million became invalids. The air raids, epidemics and famines killed many more among the civilian populations. Besides these terrible human losses, the economy of many countries was shattered. It gave rise to many serious social problems The political institutions as they had been evolving in various countries also suffered a serious setback

The war and the peace treaties transformed the political map of the world, particularly of Europe Three ruling dynasties were destroyed – the Romanov in Russia during the war itself, the Hohenzollern in Germany and the Habsburg in Austria-Hungary. Soon after the war, the rule of Ottomans came to an end in Turkey Austria and Hungary became separate independent states. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia emerged as independent states Poland which had been divided among Russia, Austria and Prussia in the eighteenth century was re-formed as an independent state.

The period after the war saw the war saw the beginning of the end of the European supremacy in the world Economically and militarily, Europe was surpassed by the United States which emerged from the war as a world power The Soviet Union was also to soon come up as a major world power The period after the war also saw the strengthening of the freedom movements in Asia and Africa The weakening of Europe and the emergence of the Soviet Union which declared her support to the struggles for national independence contributed to the growing strength of these struggles The Allied propaganda during the war to defend democracy, and the participation of Asian and African soldiers in the battles in Europe also helped in arousing the peoples of Asia and Africa The European countries had utilized the resources of their colonies in the war The forced recruitment of soldiers and labourers for war, and the exploitation of resources of the colonies for war by the imperialist countries had created resentment among the people of the colonies. The population of the colonial countries had been nurtured on the myth that the peoples of Asia and Africa were inferior to the Europeans The role played by the soldiers from Asia and Africa in winning the war for one group of nations of Europe against another shattered this myth Many Asian leaders had supported the war effort in the hope that, once the war was over, their countries would be given freedom. These hopes were, however, belied While the European nations won the right to self-determination, colonial rule and exploitation continued in the countries of Asia and Africa



The contrast between the two situations was too glaring to be missed. Its increasing awareness led to the growth of nationalist feelings in the colonies. The soldiers who returned to their respective countries from the theatres of war in Europe and elsewhere also brought with them the new stirrings All these factors strengthened nationalist movements in the colonies In some countries, the first stirrings of nationalism were felt after the war

The First World War had been believed to be 'a War to end all war'. However, the Peace Treaties had failed to ensure this. On the contrary, the treaties contained certain provisions which were extremely harsh on the defeated countries and thus they sowed the seeds of further conflicts. Similarly, some victorious countries also felt cheated because all their hopes had not been fulfilled Imperialism was not destroyed as a result of the war The victorious powers had in fact enlarged their possessions The factors which had caused rivalries and conflicts between imperialist countries leading to the war still existed. Therefore, the danger that more wars would be fought for another 'redivision of the world' re-

mained lurking. The emergence of the Soviet Union was considered a danger to the existing social and economic system in many countries The desire to destroy it influenced the policies of those countries.

These factors, combined with certain developments that took place in the next twenty years, created conditions for another world war.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1 Explain the basic reasons for the conflicts between European nations from the late nineteenth century to the early years of the twentieth century.
2 What were the countries comprising the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente ? What were the main aims of these groupings ?
3 What is meant by the Pan-Slav movement ? Why did it add to the conflict between Russia and Austria ?
4 Explain the reasons for the entry of the United States in the First World War
5. Why is the war that broke out in 1914 called the First World War ?
6 Explain the consequences of the First World War on Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey
7. What were the purposes for which the League of Nations was established ?
8 Why did Russia withdraw from the war after the 1917 Revolution ?

Things to Do

1 On a map of the world, show the areas in Asia and Africa which caused conflicts among various European countries Also show the European countries which emerged as independent states after the First World War
2. How was the world 'redivided' among the victorious powers ? Prepare a map to show the territories which were taken over from the defeated countries by the victorious countries
3 Study the Fourteen Points of President Wilson and the peace treaties that were signed after the war Make a check-list to show which of the Fourteen Points were covered by the peace treaties and which were not

Things to Think about and Discuss

1 How far were imperialist rivalries the basic cause of the First World War ?
2 Do you think the peace treaties laid the foundations of a just and stable peace ? Discuss
3 How is it that an otherwise minor incident led to the outbreak of a world war ? Discuss

CHAPTER 11

The Russian Revolution

IN a previous chapter, you have read about the rise and growth of the socialist movement. By the early years of the twentieth century, political movements based on the ideas of socialism had emerged in a number of countries in Europe. With the outbreak of the First World War, however, the socialist movement in most countries of Europe suffered a setback. The Second International faced a split on the question of attitude to the War and ceased to function During this period, however, unrest was brewing in Russia. The Russian Revolution took place in 1917, affecting the course of world history for many decades.

Conditions in Russia before the Revolution

In the nineteenth century, almost entire Europe was undergoing important social, economic and political transformation Most of the countries were republics like France or constitutional monarchies like England The rule of the old feudal aristocracies had been replaced by that of the new middle classes. Russia, however, was still living in 'the old world' under the autocratic rule of the Czars, as the Russian emperors were called. Serfdom had been abolished in 1861, but it did not improve the condition of peasants. They still had miserably small holdings of land with no capital to develop even these. For the small holdings they acquired, they had to pay heavy redemption dues for decades. Land hunger of the peasants was a major social factor in the Russian society

Industrialization began very late in Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century Then it developed at a fairly fast rate, but more than half of the capital for investment came from foreign countries Foreign investors were interested in quick profits and showed no concern for the conditions of workers Russian capitalists, with insufficient capital, competed with foreign investors by reducing workers' wages. Whether factories were owned by foreigners or Russians, the conditions of work were horrible The workers had no political rights and no means of gaining even minor reforms The words of Marx that workers have 'nothing to lose but their chains' rang literally true to them

The Russian state under the Czars was completely unsuited to the needs of modern times Czar Nicholas II, in whose reign the Revolution occurred, still believed in the divine right of kings. The preservation of absolutism was regarded by him as a sacred duty The only people who supported the Czar were the nobility and the upper layers of the clergy All the rest of the population in the vast Russian empire

was hostile The bureaucracy that the Czars had built was top-heavy, inflexible and inefficient, the members being recruited from amongst the privileged classes rather than on the basis of any ability

The Russian Czars had built a vast empire by conquest of diverse nationalities in Europe and Asia In these conquered areas, they imposed the use of the Russian language and tried to belittle the cultures of the people of these areas. Also, Russia's imperialist expansion brought her into conflicts with other imperialist powers. These wars further exposed the hollowness of the czarist state

Growth of Revolutionary Movements in Russia

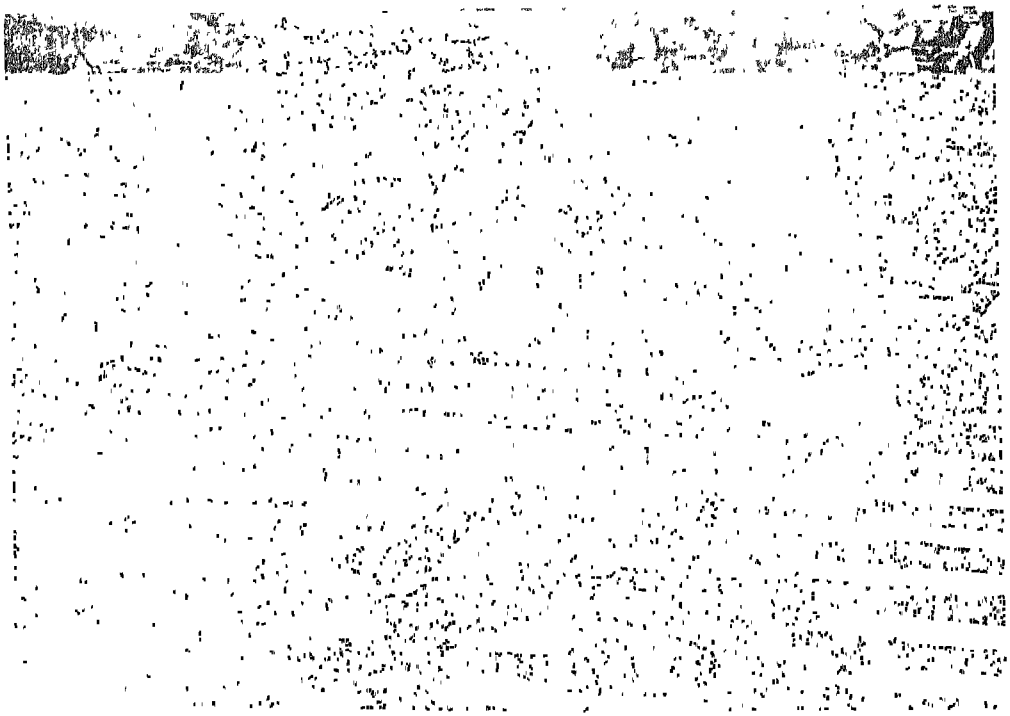
There were many peasant rebellions in Russia before the nineteenth century but they were suppressed Many Russian thinkers had been influenced by developments in Western Europe and wanted to see similar changes in Russia. Their efforts had helped to bring about the abolition of serfdom This, however, turned out to be a hollow victory The hopes of gradual changes in the direction of constitutional democratic government were soon shattered and every attempt at gradual improvement seemed to end in failure In the conditions that existed in Russia, even a moderate democrat or reformer had to be a revolutionary. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a movement known as 'going to the people' when intellectuals started preaching their ideas to the peasants.

When the workers' organizations were set up after industrialization began, they were dominated by ideas of socialism. In 1883, the Russian Social Democratic Party was formed by George Plekhanov, a follower of Marx This party along with many other socialist groups was united into the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1898. However, the party was soon split over questions of organization and policy. One group which was in a minority (hence known as the Mensheviks) favoured a party of the type that existed in countries like France and Germany and participated in elections to the parliaments of their countries The majority, known as the Bolsheviks, were convinced that in a country where no democratic rights existed and where there was no parliament, a party organized on parliamentary lines would not be effective. They favoured a party of those who would abide by the discipline of the party and work for revolution.

The leader of the Bolsheviks was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, popularly known as Lenin. He is regarded as one of the greatest leaders of the socialist movement after Marx and Engels. He devoted himself to the task of organizing the Bolshevik Party as an instrument for bringing about revolution His name has become inseparable from the Revolution of 1917 The Russian socialists, including Plekhanov and Lenin, had played an important part in the Second International

Besides the Menshevik and the Bloshevik parties, which were the political parties of industrial workers, there was the Socialist Revolutionary Party which voiced the demands of the peasantry. Then there were parties of the non-Russian nationalities of the Russian empire which were working to free their lands from colonial oppression.

The revolutionary movement in Russia had been growing when the 1905 Revolution broke out. In 1904, a war had broken out between Russia and Japan The Russian



A scene from the famous film Battleship Potemkin *by Eisenstein depicting an incident during the 1905 Revolution*

armies had suffered reverses in the war. This had further strengthened the revolutionary movement in Russia. On 9 January 1905, a mass of peaceful workers with their wives and children was fired at in St. Petersburg while on its way to the Winter Palace to present a petition to the Czar More than a thousand of them were killed and thousands of others were wounded. This day is known as Bloody Sunday The news of the killings provoked unprecedented disturbances throughout Russia. Even sections of the army and the navy revolted. The sailors of the battleship *Potemkin* joined the revolutionaries A new form of organization developed in this revolution which proved decisive in the upheaval of 1917. This was the 'Soviet', or the council of workers' representatives. Beginning as committees to conduct strikes, they became the instruments of political power Soviets of peasants were also formed.

In October, the Czar yielded and announced his manifesto granting freedom of speech, press and association, and conferred the power to make laws upon an elected body called the 'Duma'. The Czar's manifesto contained principles which would have made Russia a constitutional monarchy like England However, the Czar soon relapsed into his old ways. No longer could one hope for gradual reform. The 1905 Revolution proved to be a dress rehearsal of the revolution that came in 1917.

It aroused the people and prepared them for revolution. It drew soldiers and the peoples of non-Russian nationalities into close contact with the Russian revolutionaries.

Hoping to satisfy his imperial ambitions by annexing Constantinople and the Straits of the Dardanelles, the Czar took Russia into the First World War. This proved fatal and brought about the final breakdown of the Russian autocracy. The Czarist state was incapable of carrying on a modern war. The decadence of the royal family made matters worse. Nicholas II was completely dominated by his wife. She, in turn, was ruled by a fiend named Rasputin who virtually ran the government. Corruption in the state resulted in great suffering among the people. There was a shortage of bread. The Russian army suffered heavy reverses. The government was completely unmindful of the conditions of soldiers on the front. By February 1917, 600,000 soldiers had been killed in the war. There was widespread discontent throughout the empire as well as in the army. The condition was ripe for a revolution. In setting forth 'the fundamental law for a successful revolution', Lenin had included two conditions - the people should fully understand that revolution is necessary and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; the existing government should be in a state of crisis to make it possible for it to be overthrown rapidly. That time had certainly arrived in Russia in 1917.

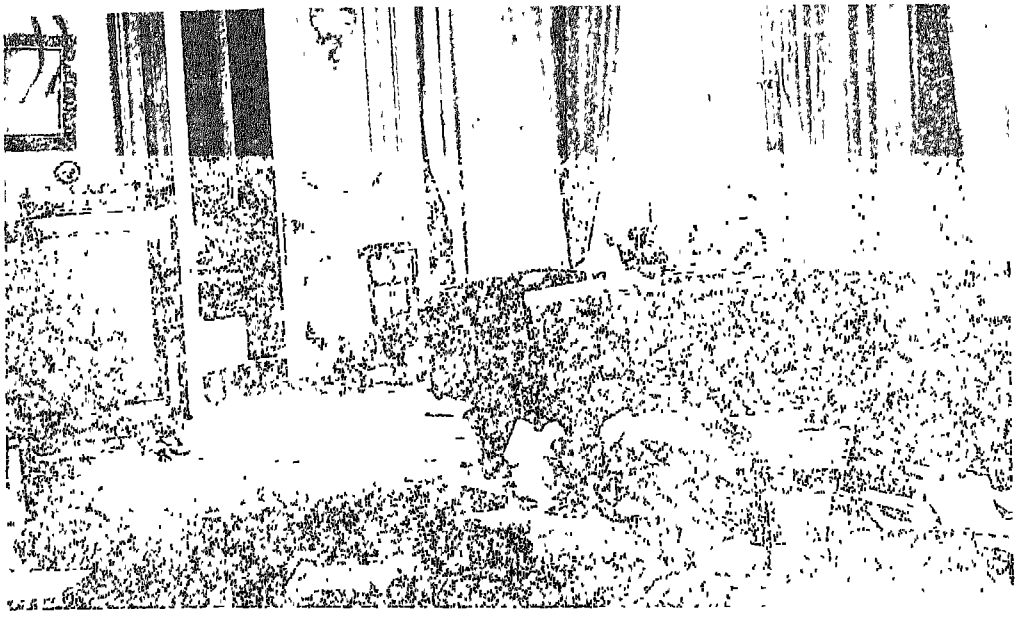
Beginning of the Revolution

Minor incidents usually 'set off' revolutions. In the case of the Russian Revolution, it was a demonstration by working-class women trying to purchase bread. A general strike of workers followed, in which soldiers and others soon joined. On 12 March 1917 the capital city of St. Petersburg (renamed Petrograd, later Leningrad and once again, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, St. Petersburg) fell into the hands of the revolutionaries. Soon the revolutionaries took Moscow, the Czar gave up his throne and the first Provisional Government was formed on 15 March. The famous poet Mayakovsky, expressing the contempt of the Russian people for the Czar, wrote on the fall of the Czar:

> Like the chewed stump of a fag
> we spat their dynasty out.

The fall of the Czar is known as the February Revolution because, according to the old Russian calendar, it occurred on 27 February 1917. The fall of the Czar, however, marked only the beginning of the revolution.

The most important demands of the people were four-fold: peace, land to the tiller, control of industry by workers, and equal status for the non-Russian nationalities. The Provisional Government under the leadership of a man named Kerensky did not implement any of these demands and lost the support of the people. Lenin, who was in exile in Switzerland at the time of the February Revolution, returned to Russia in April. Under his leadership, the Bolshevik Party put forward clear policies to end the war and transfer land to the peasants and advanced the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets'. On the question of non-Russian nationalities, Bolsheviks were the only party then with a clear policy. Lenin had described the Russian empire as a 'prison of nations' and had declared that no genuine democracy could be established unless all the non-Russian peoples were

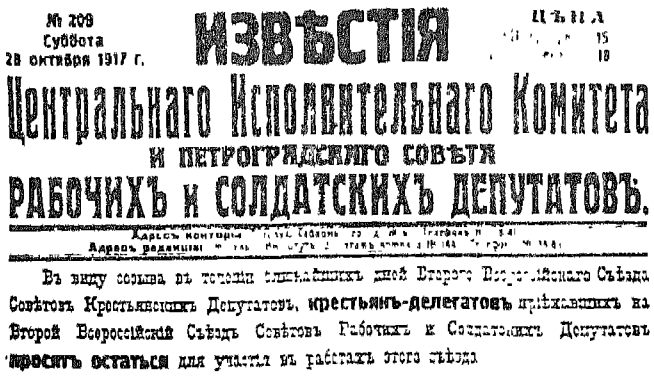


A room in the Winter Palace after the fall of the Kerensky government

given equal rights He had proclaimed the right of all peoples, including those under the Russian empire, to self determination The unpopularity of the Kerensky government led to its collapse on 7 November 1917, when a group of sailors occupied the Winter Palace, the seat of the Kerensky government Leon Trotsky who had played an important role in the 1905 Revolution returned to Russia in May 1917 As head of the Petrograd Soviet, he was one of the most outstanding leaders of the November uprising. An All-Russian Congress of Soviets met on the same day and assumed full political power This event which took place on 7 November is known as the October Revolution because of the corresponding date of the old Russian calendar, 25 October.

The Congress of Soviets on the next day issued a proclamation to all peoples and belligerent states to open negotiations for a just peace without annexation and indemnities Russia withdrew from the war, though formal peace was signed with Germany later, after ceding the territories that Germany demanded as a price for peace Following the decree on land, the estates of the landlords, the Church and the Czar were confiscated and transferred to peasants' societies to be allotted to peasant families to be cultivated without hired labour The control of industries was transferred to shop committees of workers. By the middle of 1918, banks and insurance companies, large industries, mines, water transport and railways were nationalised, foreign debts were repudiated and foreign

◀ *The Storming of the Winter Palace, 7 November 1971*



№ 209
Суббота
28 октября 1917 г.

ИЗВѢСТІЯ

Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета
и петроградскаго совѣта
РАБОЧИХЪ и СОЛДАТСКИХЪ ДЕПУТАТОВЪ.

Адресъ редакціи

Въ виду созыва въ теченіи ближайшихъ дней Второго Всероссійскаго Съѣзда Совѣтовъ Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ, **крестьянъ-делегатовъ** приѣзжающихъ на Второй Всероссійскій Съѣздъ Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ **просятъ остаться** для участія въ работахъ этого съѣзда

Decree of land signed by Lenin and published in the Russian newspaper, Izvestia *on 28 October 1917 (according to the old calendar) The Decree stated 'All dominical lands, attached to titles, lands belonging to the Emperor's cabinet, to monasteries, churches, possession lands, entailed lands, private estates, communal lands, peasant freeholds, and others are confiscated without compensation and 'become national property, and are placed at the disposal of the workers who cultivate them'*

investments were confiscated. A Declaration of the Rights of Peoples was issued conferring the right of self-determination upon all nationalities A new government, called the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin was formed. These first acts of the new government were hailed as the beginning of the era of socialism.

The October Revolution had been almost completely peaceful. Only two persons were reported killed in Petrograd on the day the Revolution took place. However, soon the new state was involved in a civil war. The officers of the army of the fallen Czar organised an armed rebellion against the Soviet state Troops of foreign powers – England, France, Japan, United States and other —joined them. War raged till 1920. By this time the 'Red Army' of the new state was in control of almost all the lands of the old Czarist empire. The Red Army was badly equipped and composed mainly of workers and peasants However, it won over better equipped and better trained forces, just as the citizen armies in the American and French revolutions had won.

Consequences of the Revolution

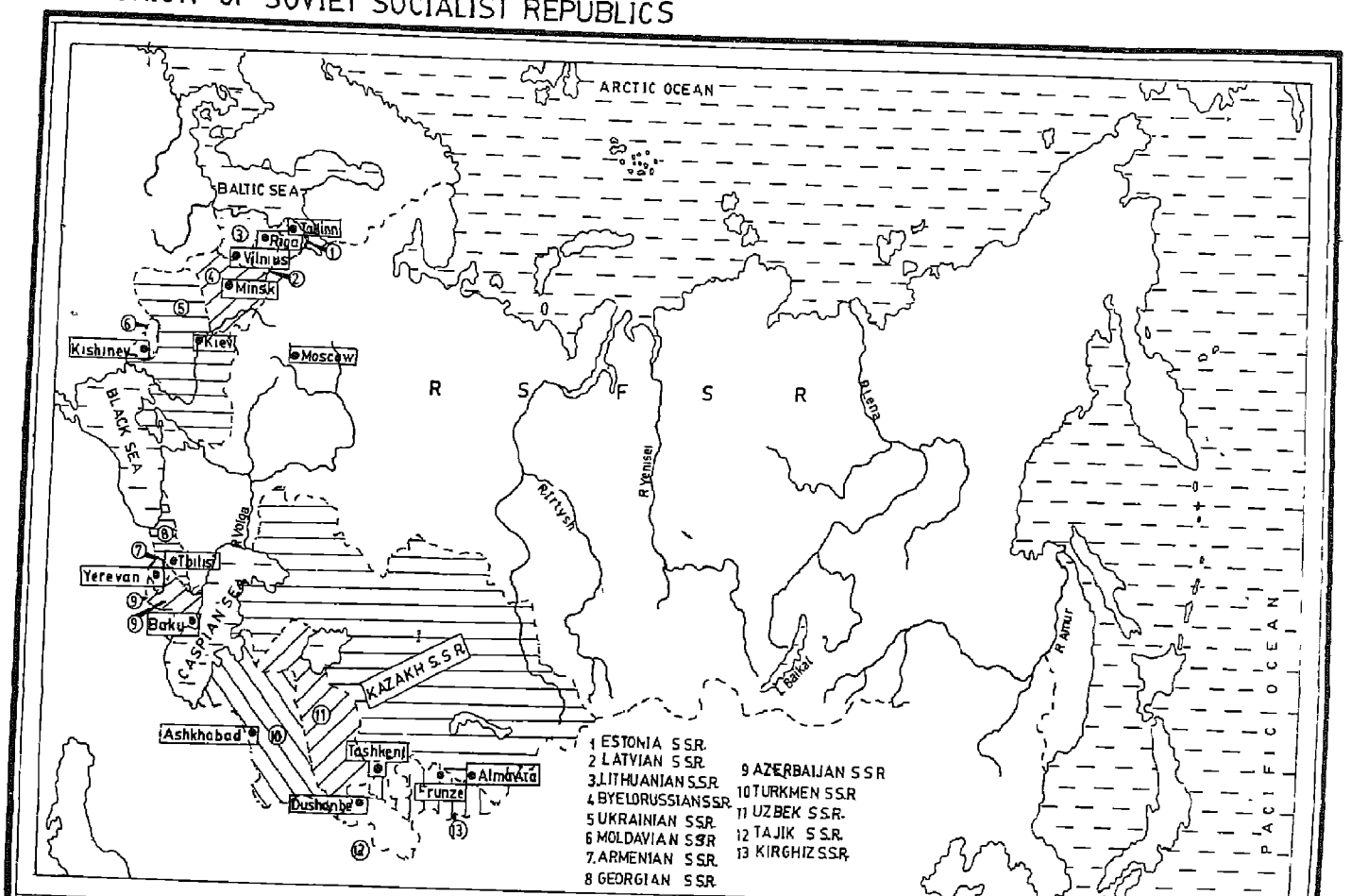
The overthrow of autocracy and the destruction of the aristocracy and the power of the church were the first achievements of the Russian Revolution. The Czarist empire was transformed into a new state called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R) for short Soviet Union. The policies of the new state were to be directed to the realization of the old socialist ideal, 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his work'. Private property in the means of production was abolished and the motive of private profit eliminated from the system of production. Economic planning by the state was adopted to build a technologically advanced economy at a fast rate and to eliminate glaring inequalities in society. Work became an essential requirement for every

People reading the Decrees of the Soviet Government on Land and Peace

person as there was no unearned income to live on. The right to work became a constitutional right and it became the duty of the state to provide employment to every individual. Education of the entire people was given a high priority. The equality of all the nationalities in the U S S.R. was recognized in the constitution framed in 1924 and later in 1936 The constitution gave the republics formed by the nationalities autonomy to develop their languages and cultures These developments were particularly significant for the Asian republics of U S.S R which were much more backward than the European part.

Within a few years of the revolution, the Soviet Union emerged as a major power in the world. The social and economic systems that began to be built there was hailed by many as the beginning of a new civiliza-

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS



tion while others called it an evil system After about 70 years of the revolution, the system collapsed and in 1991 the Soviet Union ceased to exist as a state. (The map in this chapter shows the 15 republics which formed the Soviet Union before its break-up) You will read in the next two chapters about some of the major developments that took place in the Soviet Union and the role it played in world affairs from the time of its emergence till its collapse.

In its impact on the world, the Russian Revolution had few parallels in history. The ideas of socialism which the socialist movement had been advocating and which the Russian Revolution espoused were intended for universal application. The Russian Revolution was the first successful revolution in history which proclaimed the building of a socialist society as its objective. It had led to the creation of a new state over a vast area of the globe. It was, therefore, bound to have repercussions for the rest of the world.

Soon after the revolution, the Communist International (also known as the Third International or Comintern) was formed for promoting revolutions on an international scale The split in the socialist movement at the time of the First World War has been mentioned before. The leftwing sections in many socialist parties now formed themselves into communist parties and they affiliated themselves to the Comintern. Communist parties were also formed in other countries, often with the active involvement and support of the Comintern Thus the international communist movement arose under one organization which decided on policies to be followed by all communist parties The Soviet Union was considered the leader of the world communist movement by the communist parties in various countries and the Communist Party of Soviet Union played a leading role in determining the policies of the Comintern. It is generally agreed that Comintern was often used by the Soviet Union as an instrument for pursuing its own objectives However, the formation of communist parties in many countries of the world with the objective of bringing about revolution and following common policies was a major consequence of the Russian Revolution.

With the formation of the Comintern, the socialist movement was divided into two sections — socialist and communist. There were many differences between them on the methods of bringing about socialism and about the concept of socialism itself Despite these differences, socialism became one of the most widely held ideologies within a few decades after its emergence. The spread of the influence of socialist ideas and movements after the First World

Lenin during the second anniversary celebrations of the Bolshevik Revolution

War was in no small measure due to the success of the Russian Revolution.

The growing popularity of socialism and many achievements made by the Soviet Union led to a redefinition of democracy. Most people who did not believe in socialism also began to recognize that for democracy to be real, political rights without social and economic rights were not enough. Economic and social affairs could not be left to the capitalists. The idea of the state playing an active role in regulating the economy and planning the economy to improve the conditions of the people was accepted. The biblical idea, revived by the socialist movement and the Russian Revolution, 'He that does not work neither shall he eat', gained widespread acceptance, adding a new dignity to labour. The popularity of socialism also helped to mitigate discriminations based on race, colour and sex.

The spread of socialist ideas also helped in promoting internationalism. The nations, at least in theory, began to accept the idea that their relations with other nations should go farther than merely promoting their narrow self-interest Many problems which were considered national began to be looked upon as concerns of the world as a whole. The universality and internationalism which were fundamental principles of socialist ideology from the beginning were totally opposed to imperialism The Russian Revolution served to hasten the end of imperialism According to Marx, a nation which enslaves another nation can never be free. Socialists all over the world organized campaigns for putting an end to imperialism.

The new Soviet state came to be looked upon as a friend of the peoples of the colonies struggling for national independence Russia after the Revolution was the first country in Europe to openly support the cause of independence of all nations from foreign rule. Immediately after the Revolution, the Soviet government had annulled the unequal treaties which the Czar had imposed on China It also gave assistance of various kinds to Sun Yat Sen in his struggle for the unification of China The Russian Revolution also influenced the movements for independence in so far as the latter gradually broadened the objectives of independence to include social and economic equality through planned economic development. Writing about the Russian Revolution in his *Autobiography*, Jawaharlal Nehru said, "It made me think of politics much more in terms of social change."

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1 Explain the following terms· Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, Soviet, February Revolution, October Revolution, Bloody Sunday, Communist International

2. Describe the social and economic conditions in Russia before the Revolution of 1917 How did Russia's participation in the First World War help create conditions for the fall of the Russian autocracy?

3 What were the main objectives of the Russian revolutionaries ?

4. Describe the immediate consequences of the October Revolution on Russia's participation in the First World War, the ownership of land, and position of the non-Russian nationalities of the Russian empire
5. Explain the attitude of the U S S.R. towards the movements for independence in Asia.

Thing to Do

1. Collect pictures connected with the Russian Revolution for display. Describe the events and the role of personalities shown in the pictures.
2. Collect documents connected with the Russian Revolution (for example, the text of the Decrees on Land and Peace) and select statements for a bulletin board display.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1 Discuss the impact of the Russian Revolution on the world.
2. Discuss the view that the Russian Revolution was brought about by a small group of revolutionaries without the support of the masses

CHAPTER 12

The World from 1919 to the Second World War

HARDLY twenty years had passed since the end of the First World War, when, in 1939, the Second World War broke out It was the most destructive war in history which affected the life of the people in every part of the globe. The twenty years between the First and Second World Wars were a period of tremendous changes all over the world Many developments took place in Europe which paved the way for the outbreak of the Second World War A major economic crisis took place during this period which affected almost every part of the world and, more particularly, the most advanced capitalist countries of the West. In Asia and Africa, the period saw an unprecedented awakening of the peoples which found its fulfilment after the Second World War The changes and developments in this period are important not only for understanding the forces and factors which led to the Second World War but also the world that emerged after the war. Thus they are crucial to an understanding of the present-day world.

Europe between the Wars

The misery caused by the First World War influenced the political developments in many countries You have read earlier about the revolution in Germany towards the end of the war which forced the German emperor to flee the country Germany became a republic. The proclamation of the republic did not satisfy the German revolutionaries who attempted another uprising in January 1919. The uprising was, however, suppressed Two leaders of the German revolutionary movement, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were assassinated. There was an uprising in Hungary but the revolutionary government which came into being was overthrown within a few months Inspired by the Russian Revolution, there were revolutions in many other countries of Europe such as Finland, and Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania which had earlier been parts of the Russian empire. But all these revolutions were shortlived There were movements in other parts of Europe for improvement in living conditions. The political situation in almost every country in Europe was complicated. The period saw the growth of socialist and communist parties in almost every country of Europe However, within a few years in many countries of Europe, the socialist movements were defeated and dictatorial governments came to power. These governments not only suppressed socialist movements but also destroyed democracy. The emergence of dictatorial governments

in Europe in this period had dangerous consequences not only for the peoples of Europe but for the whole world The most dangerous development was the triumph of fascism in Italy and Germany which paved the way for the Second World War.

Fascism in Italy

A number of political movements which arose in Europe after the First World War are generally given the name 'fascist'. The common features of these movements were their hostility to democracy and socialism, and the aim of establishing dictatorships. They succeeded in many countries of Europe, such as, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Germany, Spain. Their success in Italy and Germany had the most serious consequences.

The term 'fascism' is of Italian origin. It was first used for the movement which started in Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. Mussolini had organised armed gangs against socialists and communists in 1919. You have read earlier about the unification of Italy and her imperialist ambitions. The Italian government had shown little concern for the welfare of the agricultural and industrial workers whose conditions were miserable in the extreme. It had, instead, plunged Italy into the First World War in the hope of gaining colonies. About 700,000 Italians were killed in the war. The conditions of the people had worsened further. The growing strength of the socialist movement in Italy posed a threat to the existing system.

Italy had joined the war with the aim of gaining colonies. However, the peace treaties had failed to satisfy her ambitions. The Italian government at the time was dominated by capitalists and landlords. These sections began to support anti-democratic movements which promised to save them from the danger of socialism as well as to satisfy their colonial aspirations. The movement started by Mussolini was one such movement His armed gangs were used by landlords and industrialists to organize violence against socialists and communists. A systematic campaign of terrorism and murder was launched but the government showed little interest in curbing it

In 1921, elections were held in Italy. However, no single party could win a majority and no stable government could be

Mussolini (third from right) with his followers during the march on Rome

formed. In spite of the terror organized by Mussolini's gangs, his party could get only 35 seats while the socialists and communists together won 138 seats. In spite of his poor showing in the elections, Mussolini openly talked of seizing power. On 28 October 1922, he organized a march on Rome. The government of Italy did not show any sign of resistance against the volunteers of Mussolini. Instead, on 29 October 1922, the king of Italy invited Mussolini to join the government Thus without firing a shot, fascists under

Mussolini's leadership came to power in Italy.

The take-over of the government by fascists was followed by a reign of terror. The socialist movement was suppressed and many socialist and communist leaders were either jailed or killed. In 1926 all political parties except Mussolini's party were banned The victory of fascism in Italy not only led to the destruction of democracy and the suppression of socialist movement, it also led to the preparation for war The fascists believed that there could be no harmony between two or more nations They glorified war which, according to them, ennobled people. They openly advocated a policy of expansion and said that nations which do not expand cannot survive for long.

The victory of fascism in Italy was neither the result of a victory in elections nor of a popular uprising. The government of Italy was handed over to the fascists because the ruling classes of Italy considered democracy and socialism as threats to their power

Nazism in Germany

Within eleven years of the fascist capture of power in Italy, Nazism triumphed in Germany. Nazism which was the German version of fascism was much more sinister than the original Italian version The Nazis, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, established the most barbarous dictatorship of modern times

You have read earlier about the unification of Germany and certain aspects of Germany's history up to the First World War Germany had sought to satisfy her imperial ambitions through war but she had suffered defeat The outbreak of revolution in Germany towards the end of the First World War led to the collapse of the German monarchy. However, even though Germany became a republic, the forces behind the monarchy - the industrialists, the big landowners and the officers of the army - remained quite powerful The government of the German republic was not able to destroy their power. These forces began to turn to the anti democratic forces represented by Nazism to extend their power and to check the power of the socialist movement.

The sufferings of the unemployed people in Europe as depicted by the German artist Kathe Kollwitz

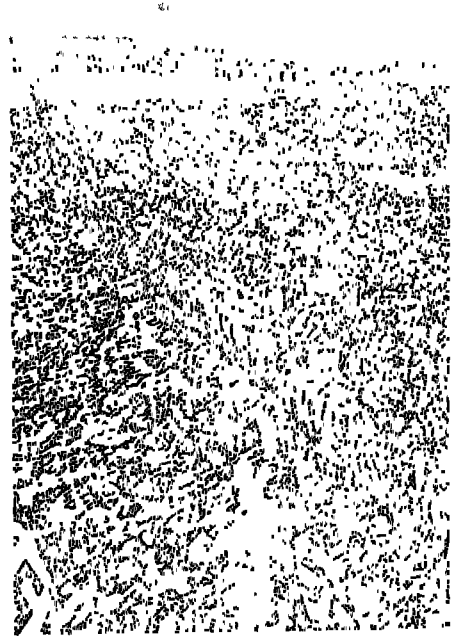
The term 'Nazism' derived from the name of the party which Hitler founded in 1921 — the National Socialist German

Workers' Party, for short Nazi Party. Like Mussolini, Hitler had also planned to capture power through a march on Berlin He was arrested and jailed, but released long before his term was over. In jail he wrote his book *Mein Kampf* (literal meaning 'My Struggle') which expressed some of the most monstrous ideas of the Nazi movement. He glorified the use of force and brutality, and the rule by a great leader and ridiculed internationalism, peace and democracy. He preached extreme hatred against the German Jews who were blamed not only for the defeat of Germany in the First World War but for all the ills of Germany He glorified violent nationalism and extolled war. The dreadful ideas of the Nazis found favour with the army, the industrialists, the big landowners and the anti-republican politicians. They began to look upon Hitler as the saviour of Germany.

The Nazis capitalized on the sense of humiliation which many Germans felt at their defeat in the war and the unjust provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. They also exploited the misery of the people which had worsened due to the reparations which Germany was made to pay to the Allied powers. In 1929 occurred the most serious economic crisis which affected all the capitalist countries of the world About this, you will read later. As a result of this crisis, eight million workers, about half of the working population of Germany, were rendered unemployed. It was during this period that the Nazi Party, which was no more than a conspiratorial group in the beginning, began to spread its influence. The Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party were powerful parties with huge following. These two parties, however, failed to unite against the Nazis.

The victory of Nazism in Germany, like that of fascism in Italy, was neither the outcome of a popular uprising, nor the result of a sham march on Berlin such as Mussolini's on Rome. In the elections held in Germany before Hitler came to power, the Nazi Party had polled less votes than the Socialist and Communist vote put together It had won only 196 seats out of a total of about 650. Hitler's coming to power was the result of political intrigues In spite of his poor showing in the elections, Hitler was appointed the Chancellor of Germany by the President of Germany on 30 January 1933. Within a few weeks, the entire fabric of democracy in Germany was shattered.

Soon after coming to power, Hitler ordered fresh elections and let loose a reign of terror. Assassination of anti-Nazi leaders



A Nazi Rally, Nuremburg, 1936

was organized on a large scale On 27 February 1933, the Reichstag (Parliament) building was set on fire by the Nazis. The Communist Party of Germany was blamed for the fire and was suppressed In spite of the terror organized by the Nazis, the Nazi Party could not win a majority of seats in Parliament. However, Hitler assumed dictatorial powers and, in 1934, became the President. Trade Unions were suppressed and thousands of socialists, communists and anti-Nazi political leaders were exterminated. The Nazis started huge bonfires into which the works of some of the best writers of Germany and other countries were thrown Besides socialists and communists, Jews were made victims of an organized campaign of humiliation and violence Within a few years they were to be completely exterminated Simultaneously, a massive programme of militarization was launched and preparations for war began. The victory of Nazism was a calamity not only for the German people but for entire Europe and many other parts of the world. It brought in the Second World War

The policies and acts of the fascist governments of Italy and Germany which ultimately led to the Second World War are described in another section.

Developments in Britain and France

The two major countries of Europe which did not succumb to fascist movements were Britain and France. However, both these countries were faced with serious economic difficulties. In 1921, there were 2 million unemployed persons in Britain The workers' movement made great advances. In 1924, the first Labour Party government came to power However, it did not remain in power for long In 1926 occurred the biggest strike in the history of Britain involving 6 million workers The strike ultimately failed. A few years later, Britain was badly affected by the world-wide economic crisis and about three million people were unemployed. In 1931, the National government comprising the Conservative, the Labour and the Liberal parties was formed Thus government took some steps to over-

The unemployed queue-up in Paris, November 1931, for free bread

come the serious economic difficulties though the unemployment situation remained serious After the victory of fascism in Germany, a fascist movement started in Britain but it could not make much headway and Britain continued as a democratic country

The government of France for many years was dominated by big bankers and industrialists It hoped that by making use of the resources of the German areas which had come under her control after the war, it would be able to make France economically strong However, these hopes were not fulfilled France could not attain political stability also. Many governments came and fell. Political instability was made worse as a result of the economic crisis, and corruption became rampant Fascist movement rose its head and there was violence in the streets Ultimately, to meet the threat posed by fascist and other anti-democratic forces, a government comprising Socialist, Radical Socialist and Communist parties was formed in 1936 This is known as the Popular Front government and it lasted for about two years During this period many important economic reforms were introduced in France.

Thus Britain and France succeeded in remaining democratic countries even though they were faced with serious problems. However, the foreign policy of these countries, as you will see later, was not conducive to the maintenance of democracy in other parts of Europe and in preventing the outbreak of war

United States Emerges as the Strongest Power

One of the most important features of the period after the First World War was the decline in the supremacy of Europe in the world and the growing importance of the United States of America She had, in fact, emerged as the richest and the most powerful country in the world at the end of the war This was clear from the important role that she played during the framing of the peace treaties While the war had severely damaged the economy of the European countries, the economy of USA during this time had in fact become stronger She had made tremendous industrial progress and was beginning to make heavy investments in Europe However, in spite of this progress, the United States was frequently beset with serious economic problems These problems were the result of the capitalist system about which you have read before.

The world-wide economic crisis which began in 1929 has been mentioned before The crisis originated in USA The years after First World War had seen a big increase in the production of goods in America. In spite of this, however, more than half of the population lived at less than the minimum subsistence level. In October 1929, the entire economy began to collapse. The stock market in New York

New York Stock Exchange area on the day of the crash

crashed The fall in the value of shares had created so much panic that in one day 16 million shares were sold in New York Stock Exchange. In some companies, the shares held by people became totally worthless. During the next four years, more than 9,000 American banks closed down and millions of people lost their life's savings. The manufacturers and farmers could not get any money to invest and as people had little money to buy, the goods could not be sold This led to the closing of thousands of factories and throwing of workers out of employment The purchasing power of the people was thus reduced which led to the closing down of more factories and to unemployment.

The Depression, as this situation is called, began to spread to all the capitalist countries of Europe in 1931 After the First World War, the economies of the countries of Europe, excluding Russia, had become closely connected with and even dependent on the economy of USA, particularly on the American banks The consequences of the Depression in Europe were similar to those in the USA and in some cases even worse The economies of the colonies of the European countries were also affected

The Depression resulted in large-scale unemployment, loss of production, poverty and starvation It continued throughout the 1930s even though after 1933, the economies of the affected countries began to recover. The crisis as long as it lasted was the most terrible and affected the lives of scores of millions of people all over the world. The estimates of unemployed during this period all over the world vary between 50 and 100 million. In USA alone, the richest country in the world, the number of the unemployed exceeded 15 million. Thousands of factories, banks and business enterprises stopped working. The industrial production fell by about 35 per cent, in some countries by about half

It may appear surprising that the crisis was caused by over-production You have read earlier how under capitalism, the owners of factories and business enterprises try to maximize their profits by producing more and more goods When production increases but the purchasing power of the workers remains low, the goods cannot be sold unless their prices are reduced. However, the prices cannot be reduced because this would affect the profits So the goods remain unsold and the factories are closed to stop further production. With the closure of factories people are thrown out of employment which makes the situation worse as the goods which have been produced cannot be sold. Such crises occurred often in almost every country after the spread of the Industrial Revolution. The crisis of 1929-33 was, however, the worst in history In this crisis while millions were starving, lakhs of tonnes of wheat were burnt down in some areas to prevent the price of wheat from falling

The economic crisis had serious political consequences. You have read how the Nazis in Germany exploited the discontent of the people to promote their anti-democratic programme. In many countries, hunger marches were organized and the socialist movement pressed for far-reaching changes in the economic system so that such crises would not recur The only country which was not affected by the economic crisis of 1929-33 was the Soviet Union.

The economic crisis had worst affected – the economy of the United States. It led to the victory of the Democratic Party and Franklin D. Roosevelt became the Presi-

dent of the United States in 1933 Under his leadership a programme of economic reconstruction and social welfare was started This programme is known as the New Deal Steps were taken to improve the conditions of workers and to create employment. As a result of the New Deal, the economy of the United States recovered from the crisis and the industrial production picked up again In 1939, however, there were still 9 million unemployed people in the United States

The United States had retained her position as a mighty power However, her foreign policy was not very different from that of Britain and France She, like Britain and France, did not adopt a strong position to resist aggressive acts of fascist powers until after the outbreak of the Second World War when she herself had to enter the war.

The Emergence of the Soviet Union

The period after the First World War saw the emergence of the Soviet Union as a major power and she began to play a crucial role in world affairs. The military intervention by Britain, France, USA and Japan in Russia in support of the counter-revolutionary forces has already been mentioned. By 1920 the counter-revolutionary forces had been defeated and the foreign armies driven out

Russia's participation in the First World War and the long period of civil war and foreign intervention which followed the revolution had completely shattered the economy of the country This was a period of acute economic distress for the people. There was a severe shortage of food. The production of industrial goods had fallen far below the pre-war level To make the distribution of goods equitable in conditions of severe scarcity, certain strong measures were taken The peasants were made to part with their produce which was in excess of what was essential for their own needs They were not allowed to sell it in the market. The payment of salaries in cash was stopped and instead people were paid in kind, that is foodstuffs and manufactured goods These measures had created unrest among the peasants and other sections of society but were accepted because they were considered essential to defend the revolution After the civil war ended, these measures were withdrawn and in 1921, the New Economic Policy was introduced Under this policy, the peasants were allowed to sell their produce in the open markets, payment of wages in cash was re-introduced and production of goods and their sale in some industries under private control was permitted. A few years later, in 1929, the USSR started its vigorous programme of economic reconstruction and industrialization when it adopted the first of a series of its Five Year Plans Within a few years, the Soviet Union emerged as a major industrial power The extraordinary economic progress that the Soviet Union achieved was against heavy odds. Though the foreign intervention had been ended, many countries of Europe, and the United States followed a policy of economic boycott with the aim of destroying the revolution. However, the Soviet Union not only survived but continued to grow economically at a fast rate She was, as mentioned before, the only country which remained unaffected by the economic crisis of 1929-33 On the contrary, its industrial development went on as before while millions of people in the west were unemployed and thousands of factories had come to a standstill.

Major changes were introduced in agriculture After the revolution the estates of the landlords, the church and the nobility had been confiscated and distributed among the peasants There were in all about 25 million land-holdings most of which were very small The small land-holdings or farms were considered not very productive To increase production, it was considered essential to introduce tractors and other farm machinery. It was thought that this could be done only if the size of the farms was large For this, the government started its own farms. Besides, it adopted the policy of promoting collective farms by bringing the small farms of the peasants together In these farms, individual ownership of farms by peasants was ended and the peasants worked on these 'collective farms' collectively The government pursued the policy of collectivization vigorously and by 1937 almost all cultivable land was brought under collective farms Initially, the peasants were free to decide whether they wanted to join the collective farms or not. Later, they were forced to join The rich peasants who opposed collectivization were severely dealt with. The process of collectivization of agriculture was accompanied by many atrocities. According to some estimates, millions of people perished in this period. Thus, while the oppression by landlords had been ended, the introduction of new measures was not without serious problems and oppression In industry also, while production of goods to profit a few capitalists had been ended and industrialization of the country took place at a fast rate, the production of goods of daily necessities was neglected

The main centres of the revolution in 1917 were in Russia In the following years, the revolution spread to many other parts of the old Russian empire and the Bolshevik Party and its supporters formed governments in the areas inhabited by non-Russian nationalities In 1922 all these territories were formally united in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), for short Soviet Union, which was a federation of many republics At that time, the number of Republics constituting the USSR was five. When a new constitution was adopted in 1936, their number was eleven A few years later, in 1940, their number rose to 15.

After the death of Lenin in 1924 many serious differences arose within the ruling Communist Party – the only political party which existed — over policies to be followed There was also serious struggle for power between different groups and individual leaders In this struggle, Stalin emerged victorious. In 1927, Trotsky who had played an important role in the revolution and had organized the Red Army was expelled from the Communist Party In 1929, he was sent into exile In the 1930s, almost all the leaders who had played an important role in the revolution and in the following years were eliminated False charges were brought against them, and after fake trials they were executed Political democracy and freedom of speech and press were destroyed The expression of differences even within the party was not tolerated. Stalin, who had been the General Secretary of the Communist Party, assumed dictatorial powers which he exercised till his death in 1953 These developments had an adverse effect on the building of socialism in the USSR and introduced features which were contrary to the humanistic ideals of Marxism and of the revolution The development of art and literature also suffered because of restrictions on

freedom

The Soviet Union was not recognized by most European powers and USA for a long time You have read before that she was not allowed to be represented at the Peace Conference which was held at the end of the First World War nor in the League of Nations She remained surrounded by countries which were openly hostile to her However, with its growing strength she could not be ignored and gradually one country after another recognized her Britain established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1933. In 1934 she also became a member of the League of Nations However, in spite of the ending of the isolation of the Soviet Union, the hostility towards the Soviet Union continued The Soviet Union followed a policy of support to the movements for independence. The help given to China is notable in this context When the fascist countries started their acts of aggression, the Soviet government pressed for action against them. However, the Western countries did not agree to the Soviet proposals They continued to regard the Soviet Union as a danger to them and hoped that the fascist countries would destroy her. Their hostility to the Soviet Union led to the appeasement of fascist powers and paved the way for the Second World War

Nationalist Movements in Asia and Africa

The period following the First World War saw the strengthening of the movements of the peoples of Asia and Africa for independence As stated earlier, many leaders of freedom movements in Asia and Africa had supported the war effort of the Allies in the hope that their countries would win freedom, or at least more rights after war was over Their hopes had been belied and the imperialist leaders soon made it clear that the war-time slogans of freedom and democracy were not meant for their colonies However, the war had weakened the imperialist countries and had contributed to the awakening of the colonial peoples Their struggles for freedom entered a new phase after the war The support of the Soviet Union further added to the strength of the freedom movements. Even though most of the countries of Asia and Africa emerged as independent nations after the Second World War, the period after the First World War saw serious weakening of imperialism

In India this was the period when the freedom movement became a mass movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Many countries in Asia made significant advances towards freedom You have read before that Iran had been divided into Russian and British spheres of influence before the First World War. The Soviet government after the revolution of 1917 had given up the sphere under her control and had withdrawn all her troops from there. The British, however, tried to extend their influence over the entire country These efforts were met with a widespread uprising. In 1921, power was seized by Reza Khan who in 1925 became the emperor The British troops left Iran and the modernization of Iran began

The British government had waged many wars against Afghanistan in the nineteenth century. As a result of these wars, the independence of Afghanistan had been curbed The foreign relations of Afghanistan had passed under British control. In 1919, the king of Afghanistan was assassinated and his son, Amanullah became the

king Amanullah proclaimed complete independence of Afghanistan, which was immediately recognized by the Soviet Union. The British government in India waged a war against the new Afghan government but in the end Britain agreed to recognize the independence of Afghanistan. Amanullah's government made vigorous efforts to modernize Afghanistan.

There was an upsurge in Arab countries against Britain and France The Arabs had been asked by the Allies, during the First World War, to fight against their Ottoman rulers However, the end of the war did not result in the independence of Arab countries. These countries had assumed additional importance after it was known that they had immense oil resources Britain and France had extended their control over these countries as their protectorates and 'mandates'. There were uprisings against Britain in Egypt and Britain was forced in 1922 to grant independence to Egypt though British troops continued to stay there

Syria had been handed over to France after the war. However, from the very beginning France met with intense opposition there In 1925 there was an open rebellion and the French government resorted to a reign of terror. The city of Damascus which became a centre of revolt was reduced to ruins when the French troops bombed the city from the air and made use of heavy artillery to shell the city. About 25,000 people were killed as a result of bombing and shelling of Damascus. However, in spite of these massacres, the resistance to French rule continued.

One of the most important events in the national awakening of the peoples after the First World War was the revolution in Turkey You have read earlier of the disintegration of the Ottoman empire which began in the nineteenth century and was completed after Turkey's defeat in the First World War. During this period, many nations which were formerly under the subjugation of the Ottoman empire had become free The Arab territories of the empire had been given away to Britain and France as mandates after the First World War The Allies, however, did not stop at the dismemberment of the empire. They wanted to establish their domination over Turkey itself and to give away parts of Turkey to Greece and Italy. The treatment meted out to Turkey by the Allies had led to a mass upsurge in India directed against Britain. This upsurge is known as the Khilafat movement which had merged with the Indian nationalist movement

The nationalist movement in Turkey was organised to prevent the domination of the country by the Allied powers and the annexation of parts of Turkey by Greece and Italy The Sultan of Turkey agreed to the terms dictated by the Allied powers However, even before the treaty was signed by the Sultan, a national government had been established under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal with its headquarters at Ankara This government signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet government in 1921 under which Turkey received Soviet political support and arms for the nationalist cause Following the treaty with the Sultan, Turkey had been invaded by Greece The Turks under Kemal's leadership were able to repel the invasion and the Allies were forced to repudiate the earlier treaty The Allied troops were withdrawn from Turkish territory and the areas which were to be annexed by European countries remained in Turkey. Thus Turkey was able to win her complete independence.

The success of the Turks in winning the

complete independence of their country was followed by a programme to modernize Turkey and to end the influence of backward-looking feudal elements. Turkey was proclaimed a republic The Turkish Sultan had carried the title of Caliph. The new government abolished the institution of Caliph. Education was taken out of the hands of the religious leaders Religion was separated from the state

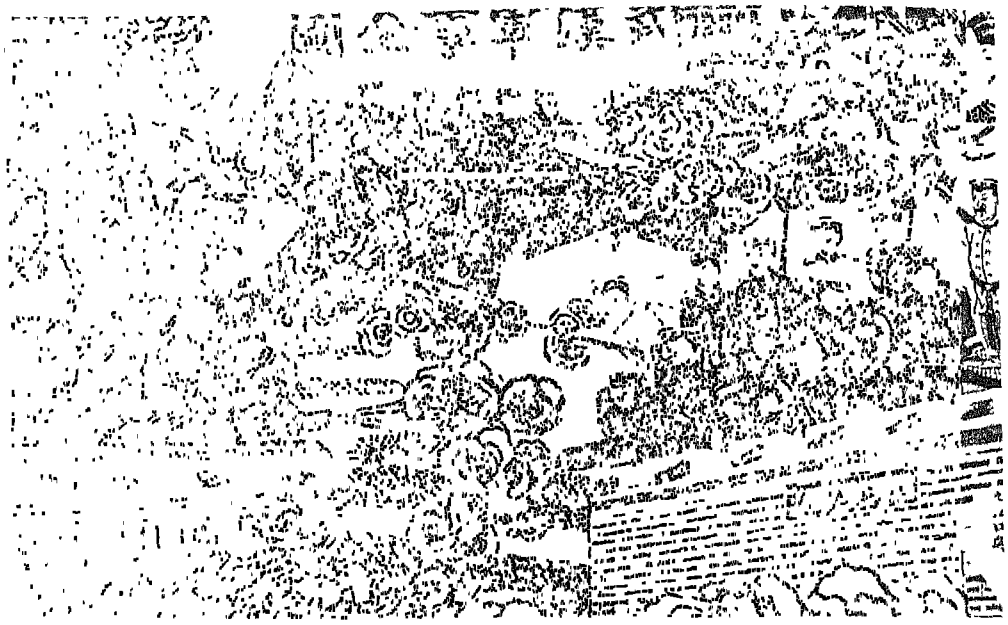
The revolution in Turkey became a source of inspiration for the movements for freedom in Asia. It also helped to promote the ideas of social reform and modernization.

Movements for independence were strengthened in the other parts of Asia In Indonesia, for example, there were uprisings against the Dutch rule In 1927 the National Party was organized with the aim of achieving independence In Korea there was a movement for independence from Japanese rule. Movements for independence gathered strength in Indo-China, Burma and other countries.

One of the most powerful movements in this period began in China. You have read before about the imperialist domination of China. In 1911, there was a revolution in China which resulted in the establishment of a republic. However, power passed into the hands of corrupt governors called warlords The national movement in China aimed at the overthrow of foreign domination and the unification of China by ending the rule of the warlords The founder of the national movement in China was Dr Sun Yat-Sen. He had played an important role in the 1911 revolution and in 1917 had set up a government at Canton in south China The party formed by him called Kuomintang led the national struggle in China for a number of years

The Russian Revolution had a deep impact on China. The new government in Russia had renounced all the unequal treaties which the Russian emperors had imposed on China and had promised full support to the Chinese national struggle. In 1921 the Communist Party of China was formed. In 1924, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party decided to work together and the Soviet government gave various kinds of aid, such as the training of a revolutionary army. A number of Soviet political and military advisers worked with the Chinese liberation movement. After the death of Sun Yat-Sen in 1925, the unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was broken and a period of civil war began In the 1930s when the Japanese attacked China with the aim of subjugating the entire country, the two parties agreed to work together to resist the Japanese invasion. The Communist Party played a leading role in the war of resistance against the Japanese invasion. It was able to establish its supremacy in the country and within a few years after the end of the Second World War was victorious in the civil war.

This period also saw the emergence of political and national consciousness in Africa. Though the struggles for national independence in Africa gained momentum after the Second World War, the 1920s and the 1930s were a period when the first political associations were formed An important role in the growth of national consciousness in Africa was played by a series of Pan-African Congresses. The Pan-African movement asserted the identity and unity of the African people, and independence of Africa. The national movement in the Union of South Africa had emerged earlier than in other parts of Africa. In 1912 had been formed the



A contemporary Chinese woodcut depicting the mutiny of soldiers during the 1911 revolution which led to the overthrow of the Manchu rule

African National Congress which became the leading organization of the South African people. The people of Ethiopia fought heroically against the Italian invasion of their country in 1935-36 and their resistance served as a source of inspiration to the people of Africa

The national awakening of the people of Asia and Africa and the growing strength of their struggle for freedom were factors of great importance in the making of the modern world While the long-oppressed peoples in these two continents were beginning to assert their right to independence, preparations for another war were being made in Europe.

Beginning of Fascist Aggression

In the 1930s the fascist powers began their wars of conquest which ultimately led to the Second World War. The major fascist countries were Italy and Germany. They acquired an ally in the militarist regime which came to power in Japan The triumph of fascism in Italy and Germany has already been described. You have also read earlier about the rise of Japanese imperialism, her wars against China and Russia, the conquest of Korea and her acquisition of the German spheres in China after the First World War. The government of Japan gradually passed into the hands of militarists These three countries started a series of aggressions in Europe, Asia and Africa All of them claimed to have been fighting against communism and were united in 1937 under the Anti-Comintern Pact (Comintern is short for Communist International which, as mentioned before, had been formed after the Russian Revolution and to which the Com-

Hitler and Mussolini

munist Parties of various countries were affiliated.) Germany, Italy and Japan came to be known as the Axis Powers

When the acts of aggression began, the aggrieved countries, the Soviet Union and many leaders in different countries of the world demanded collective action to defeat the aggressions. In 1935, the Communist International advocated the formation of Popular Fronts consisting of Communists, Socialists and other anti-fascists to counter the danger of fascism and war. It may be recalled that Hitler had come to power in Germany because the Communist and Social Democratic Parties of Germany had failed to unite against the Nazis. The Comintern's advocacy of uniting all anti-fascist forces was followed by the formation of Popular Fronts in many countries In France, the Popular Front succeeded in preventing a fascist takeover The policy of Popular Front also had a significant influence in bringing together various anti-imperialist forces in the colonies. It also created a world-wide awareness of the danger that fascism posed to all countries and helped in building support for the victims of fascist aggression The leader of the Comintern at this time was Georgi Dimitrov, a Bulgarian Communist, who had been arrested along with German Communists, by the Nazis in 1933 after the Reichstag fire. His courageous defence at the trial had won him world-wide admiration and he had been released

You have read earlier that the covenant of the League of Nations contained a provision for economic and military sanctions and collective action against aggression. However, the Western governments, instead of resisting the aggressions, followed a policy of appeasement of the aggressive powers. Appeasement meant a policy of conciliating an aggressive power at the expense of some other country But for the Western countries' policy of appeasement, fascism could not have survived as long as it did and would not have been able to unleash the Second World War

Germany, Italy and Japan which launched a series of aggressions in the 1930s claimed that they were fighting communism Hitler had time and again declared that Germany had ambitions of conquering the vast resources and territory of the Soviet Union In all these countries, the socialist and communist movements had been suppressed. Since the success of the Russian Revolution, the Western countries had been haunted by the danger of communism and they hoped that fascist countries would rid them of this danger The attitude of the Western powers to the fascist aggressions has been summed up

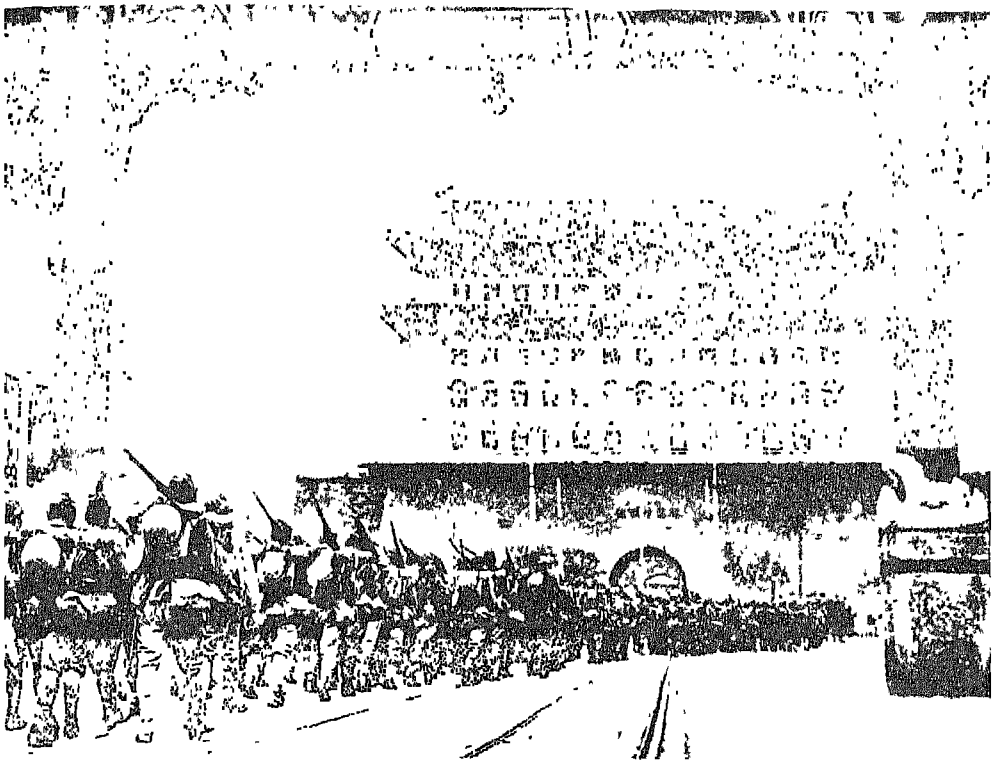
by a historian thus: "There was no question that the Nazis had done their best to convince the world that they were out to smash Bolshevism and conquer the Soviet Union. Hitler's speech saying that if he had the Urals all the Germans would be swimming in plenty was only an outstanding example of this propaganda Nor was there any reluctance among the elites in the Western world to believe him. The great landowners, aristocrats, industrialists, bankers, high churchmen, army leaders—magnates of every kind in Western Europe, together with many middle-class elements—had never lost their fear that their own workers and peasants might demand a social revolution, perhaps one spearheaded and organized by communists Their support of fascism as a force, albeit a gangster one, which would defeat communism and at the same time leave the vested interests largely in control, had been instinctive and sincere. There can be little doubt that many powerful people in Britain and France worked to strengthen and build up the Axis powers with a view to an attack by them upon the Soviet Union" The Policy of appeasement strengthened the fascist powers and led to the Second World War

Japanese Invasion of China

One of the first major acts of aggression after the First World War was the Japanese invasion of China in 1931 A minor incident involving a railway line owned by the Japanese in Manchuria, the north-eastern province of China, was made the pretext for the invasion China, a member of the League of Nations, appealed to the League for sanctions against Japan to stop the aggression. However, Britain and France, the leading countries in the League, were completely indifferent to the appeal and acquiesced in the aggression. Japan occupied Manchuria, installed a puppet government there and proceeded to conquer more areas The United States also did nothing to counter the aggression. In 1933, Japan quit the League of Nations. She had also started seizing the British and American property in China. However, the appeasement of Japan continued as the Western countries thought that the Japanese could be used to weaken China as well as the Soviet Union. Britain had an additional reason. She did not want to alienate Japan and thus endanger her possessions in Asia

German Militarization

Germany had been admitted to the League of Nations some time after its formation but soon after Hitler came to power, she quit the League and undertook a massive programme of militarization. According to the Treaty of Versailles, severe restrictions had been imposed on the military strength of Germany. The beginning of German re-militarization in violation of the Treaty created a sense of insecurity in many countries, particularly France. It was in this situation that the Soviet Union became a member of the League in 1934. However, nothing was done to stop the German re-militarization. According to the Treaty of Versailles, the German area bordering France called the Rhineland had been demilitarized to make a German attack on France difficult. In 1936, Hitler's troops entered the Rhineland in violation of the Treaty. Though this step alarmed France, nothing was done to stop Germany. By then Germany had built an army of 800,000 men while the Treaty of Versailles, you may remember, had imposed a limit of 100,000 men She



Occupation of Beijing by Japanese troops in July 1937

had also started building a strong navy.

Italian Invasion of Ethiopia

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia On the appeal of Ethiopia, the League of Nations passed a resolution condemning Italy as an aggressor The resolution also mentioned the use of economic sanctions against Italy, including a ban on the sale of arms to Italy However, no action was taken to punish Italy and by 1936 Italy had completed the conquest of Ethiopia

The Spanish Civil War

The next event which marked the beginning of an alliance between Germany and Italy was the intervention by these two countries in the Civil War in Spain In 1931 Spain had become a republic. In 1936 a Popular Front comprising the Socialist, Communist and other democratic and anti-fascist parties came to power. A section of the army under the leadership of General Franco with the armed support of Italy and Germany revolted against the government Italy and Germany started intervening openly in the Civil War that followed. They sent forces, tanks and warships in support of the rebels. The German aircrafts conducted air-raids on Spanish towns and villages The government of the Spanish Republic appealed for help against the fascists. Only the Soviet Union came to the help of the Republican forces Britain and

France advocated a policy of non-intervention and refused to give any aid to the government of Spain They remained indifferent to the German and Italian intervention in the war However, the cause of the Republicans evoked tremendous response the world over Thousands of anti-fascist volunteers from many countries including many anti-fascist Germans were organized into international brigades who went to Spain and fought alongside the Spaniards against fascism Thousands of them were killed in Spain Some of the best writers and artists of the twentieth century actively supported the cause of the Republicans The battle in Spain assumed an international significance as it was increasingly realized that the victory of fascism in Spain would encourage more fascist aggressions The sacrifice of their lives by thousands of non-Spaniards in Spain in the cause of freedom and democracy is one of the finest examples of internationalism in history. The Civil War in Spain continued for three years. About a million people were killed in the war. Finally, the fascist forces under General Franco succeeded in destroying the Republic in 1939 Soon the new government was recognized by most of the Western powers.

It may by recalled that the Indian nationalist movement which was alive to the danger of fascism had extended its support to the Republican cause Jawaharlal Nehru went to Spain during this period as a mark of solidarity of the Indian nationalist movement with the Republicans.

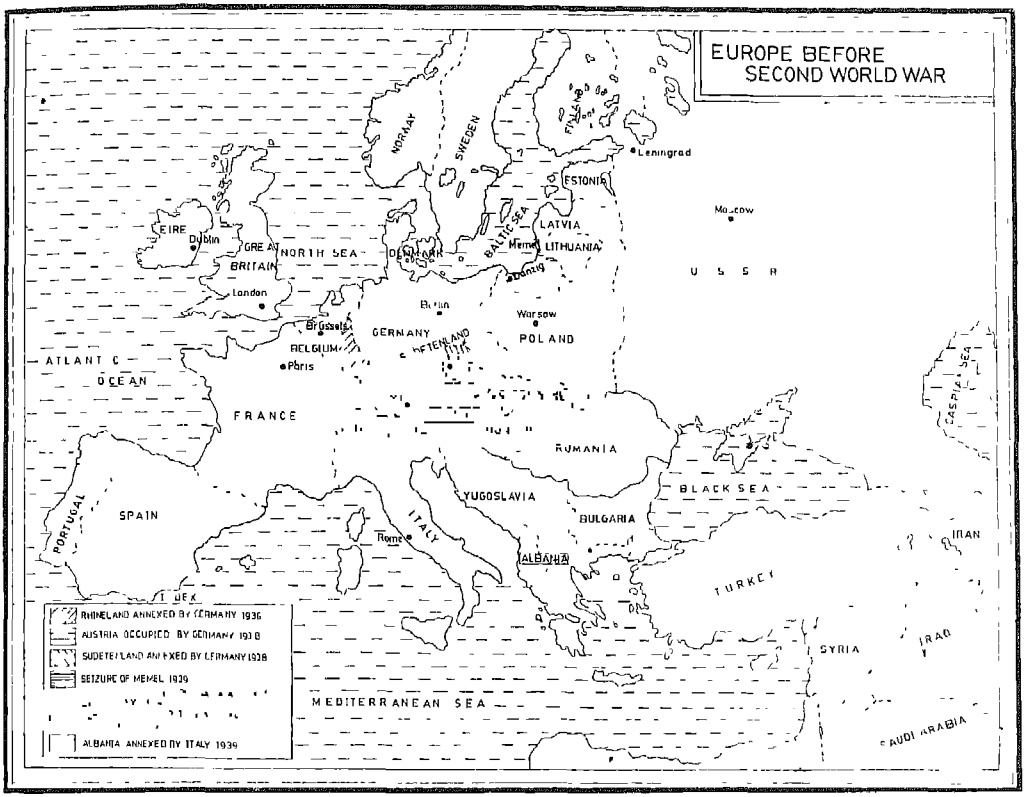
The victory of fascism was the result of the Western countries' appeasement of fascism, which made the fascist countries more aggressive. Germany had tested the effectiveness of many new weapons in the Spanish Civil War which she was to use in the Second World War

The Munich Pact

While the Spanish Civil War was still going on, Hitler's troops marched into Austria in March 1938 and occupied it Even though this was a violation of the peace treaties signed after the First World War, the Western powers did not protest against it

The final act of appeasement of fascism by the Western powers was the Munich Pact Germany coveted Czechoslovakia which was very important because of her industries The area also had strategic importance for the expansion of Germany in the east towards the Soviet Union Hitler claimed a part of Czechoslovakia called Sudetenland which had substantial German population. This area formed about one-fifth of the area of Czechoslovakia and had one of the largest munition factories in the world Instead of meeting the threat posed by Germany, the Prime Ministers of Britain and France met Hitler and Mussolini at Munich in Germany on 29 and 30 September 1938 and agreed to Germany's terms without the consent of Czechoslovakia Soon after, the Sudetenland was occupied by German troops A few months later in March 1939 entire Czechoslovakia was occupied by Germany.

The Munich Pact was the last major act of appeasement by the Western powers. It led Germany to make more demands The only way the fascist aggression could have been checked and another world war prevented was an alliance of the Western powers with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union had been pleading for such an alliance. However, the Western policies of appeasement had convinced the Soviet Union that their main interest was to divert the German expansion towards



the Soviet Union The Munich Pact was an additional proof to the Soviet Union that the Western powers were trying to appease Germany with a view to directing her aggression eastward against the Soviet Union The Soviet Union at this time signed a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany in August 1939 The signing of this Pact by the Soviet Union shocked anti-fascists the world over. In the meantime Britain and France promised to come to the aid of Poland, Greece, Rumania and Turkey in case their independence was endangered

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War, like the First, started in Europe and assumed the character of a world war. In spite of the fact that Western countries had acquiesced in all the aggressions of Japan, Italy and Germany from the invasion of Manchuria to the annexation of Czechoslovakia, the fascist countries' ambitions had not been satisfied These countries were planning another redivision of the world and thus had to come into conflict with the established imperialist powers The Western policy of diverting the aggression of the fascist countries towards the Soviet Union had failed with the signing of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact Thus the war began in Europe between the fascist countries and the major West European Powers — Britain and France Within a few months it became a world war as it spread to more and more areas, ultimately involving almost every country in the world

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (first from left) and French Prime Minister Edourd Daladier (second from left) with Hitler and Mussolini in Munich on 29 September 1938

The Invasion of Poland

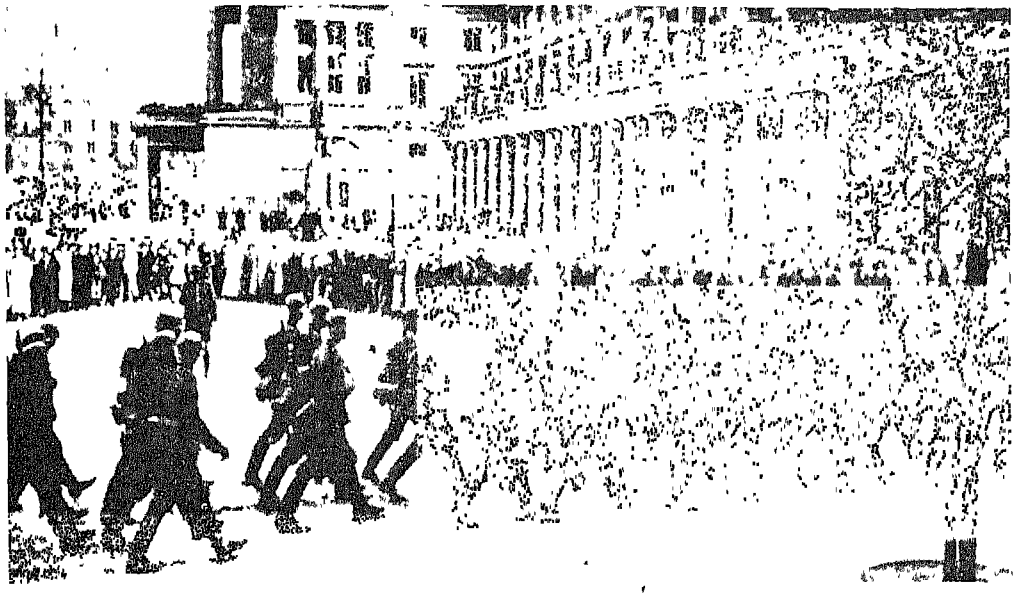
After the First World War, East Prussia had been separated from the rest of Germany The city of Danzig which separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany had been made a free city independent of German control. Hitler had demanded the return of Danzig to Germany but Britain had refused to accept this demand.

On 1 September 1939 German armies marched into Poland. On 3 September Britain and France declared war on Germany Thus the invasion of Poland marked the beginning of the Second World War. The German armies completed the conquest of Poland in less than three weeks as no aid reached Poland. In spite of the declaration of war, however, there was little actual fighting for many months. Therefore, the war during this period from September 1939 to April 1940 when Germany invaded Norway and Denmark is known as the 'phoney war'.

Soon after the German invasion of Poland, the Soviet Union attacked eastern Poland and occupied the territories which were earlier in the Russian empire. It is believed that this occupation was a part of the secret provisions of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. In 1940, the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania which had become independent after the First World War were also occupied by the Soviet Union. They, along with Moldavia, became republics of USSR. In November 1939, the Soviet Union also went to war against Finland.

Conquest of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France

Germany launched her invasion of Norway and Denmark on 9 April 1940 and within three weeks completed the conquest of these two countries In Norway, the German invaders were helped by Quisling, leader of Norway's fascist party, who set up a puppet government in Norway

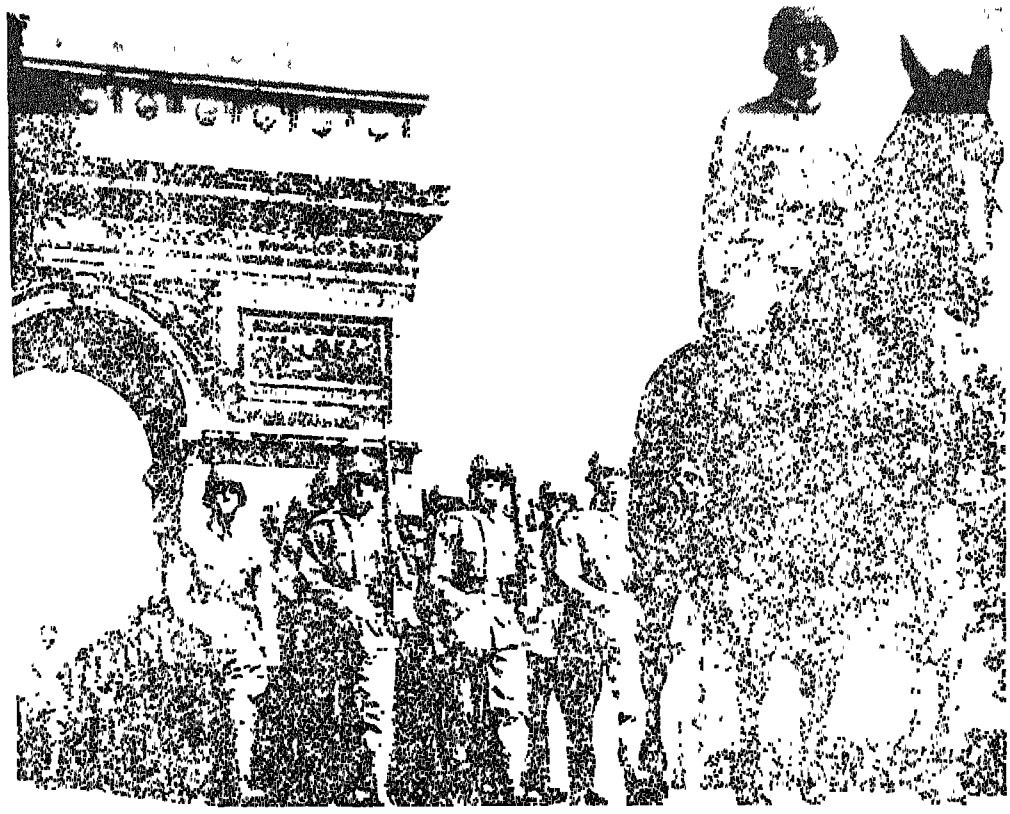


German troops in Warsaw, Poland, October 1939

under German occupation. The very name 'Quisling' has come to mean a traitor who collaborates with the invaders of his country. In early May began the invasion of Belgium and Holland which was completed before the end of May Soon the German armies marched into France and by 14 June 1940, the capital city of Paris had fallen into German hands almost without a fight. In the meantime, Italy also had joined the war on the side of her ally, Germany On 22 June 1940, the French government surrendered and signed a truce with Germany according to which about half of France was occupied by Germany The remaining part remained under the French government which was required to disband the French army and provide for the maintenance of the German army in France The French government which had surrendered to Germany ruled from Vichy. With the defeat of France, Germany became the supreme power over the continent of Europe The war conducted by Germany with great speed and force is known as *blitzkrieg* which means a 'lightning war'.

The Battle of Britain

Britain was the only major power left in Europe after the fall of France Germany thought that Britain would surrender soon as she was without any allies in Europe. German air force began bombing raids on Britain in August 1940 with the aim of terrorizing her into surrender The battle that ensued is known as the Battle of Britain. The Royal Air Force of Britain played a heroic role in its defence against air raids and conducted air raids on German territories in retaliation The Prime Minister of Britain during the war years was Winston Churchill Under his leadership, the people of Britain successfully resisted the German air raids with courage and determination.



German troops occupy Paris, June 1940

In the meantime, Italy had started military operations in North Africa. She also invaded Greece, but the Italian attack in both the areas was repulsed. However, Germany succeeded in capturing the Balkans – Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and also large parts of North Africa.

German Invasion of Soviet Union

Having conquered almost the entire Europe, except Britain, Germany attacked the Soviet Union, despite the Non-Aggression Pact, on 22 June 1941 As mentioned before, Hitler had always coveted the vast territory and resources of the Soviet Union. He thought that the destruction of the Soviet Union would take about eight weeks. Hitler had grossly underestimated the strength of the Soviet Union In the first phase of the war with the Soviet Union, Germany achieved significant victories. Vast areas of the Soviet Union were devastated, Leningrad was besieged and German troops were marching towards Moscow However, in spite of the initial German successes, the German onslaught was halted. The Soviet Union had built up her industrial and military strength She resisted the German invasion heroically and the German hopes of a quick victory were

thwarted.

With the German invasion of the Soviet Union, a new vast theatre of war had been opened. An important development that followed was the emergence of the British-Soviet-American unity to fight against aggression. Soon after the invasion, Churchill and Roosevelt declared British and American support, respectively, to the Soviet Union in the war against Germany and promised aid to her. Subsequently, agreements were signed between the Soviet Union and Britain, and Soviet Union and USA. It was as a result of this unity that Germany, Italy and Japan were ultimately defeated.

The Expansion of the War

You have read before about the Japanese invasion of China in 1931. In 1937, the Japanese had started another invasion of China Japan was one of the three members of the Anti-Comintern Pact along with Germany and Italy. In September 1940, these three countries had signed another pact which bound them together even more Japan recognized "the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe" and Japan's leadership was recognized for establishing a new order in Asia. On 7 December 1941, the Japanese, without a declaration of war, conducted a massive raid on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii The American Pacific Fleet which was stationed there was devastated. The Americans lost 20 warships, and about 250 aircrafts About 3000 persons were killed The Americans were completely taken unawares Negotiations had been going on between the Japanese and American governments to settle their differences in Asia and the Pacific The attack on Pearl Harbor in the midst of negotiations showed that the Japanese were determined to conquer Asia and the Pacific. With this the Second World War became truly global. The United States

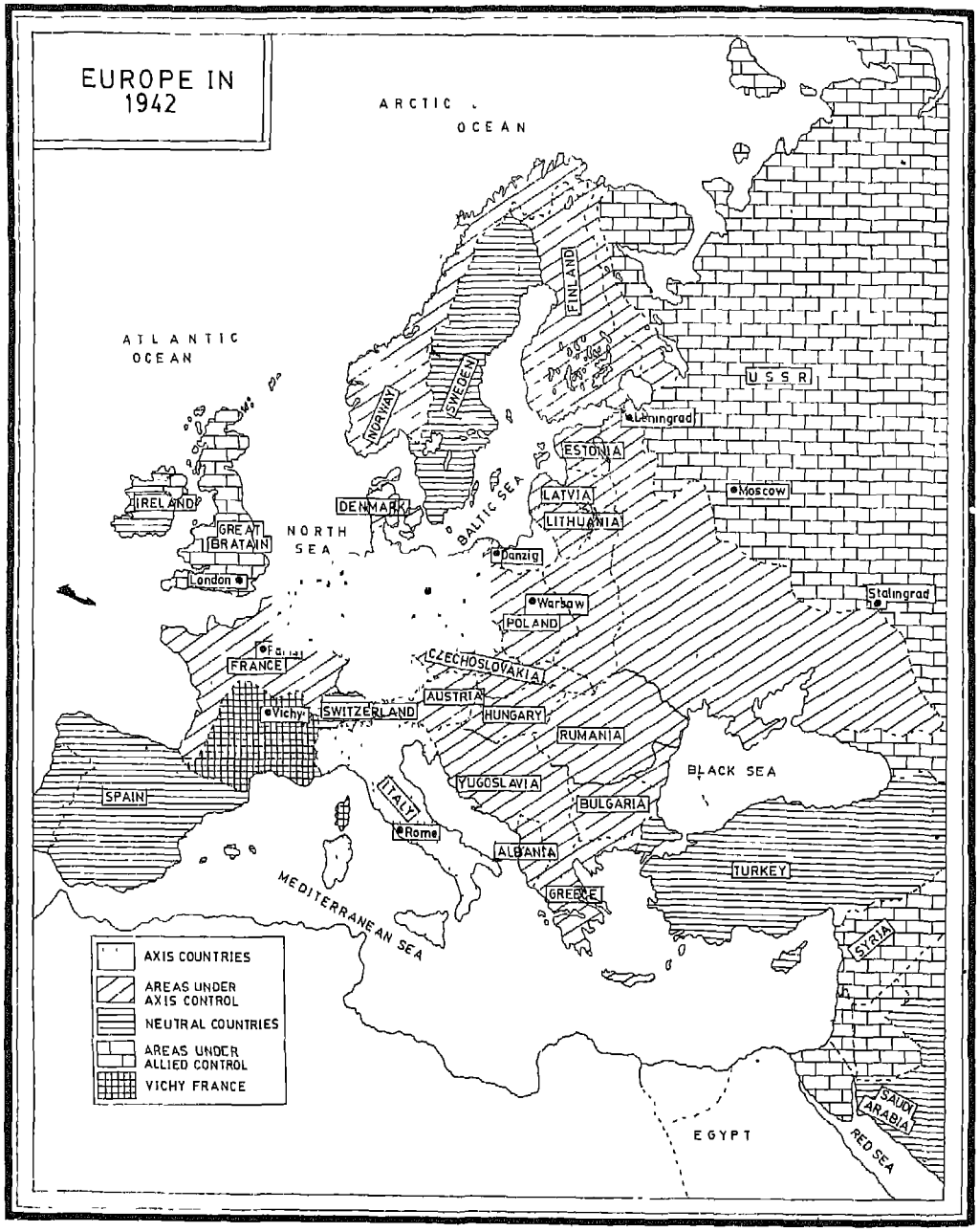
Pearl Harbor after the Japanese attack on 7 December 1941

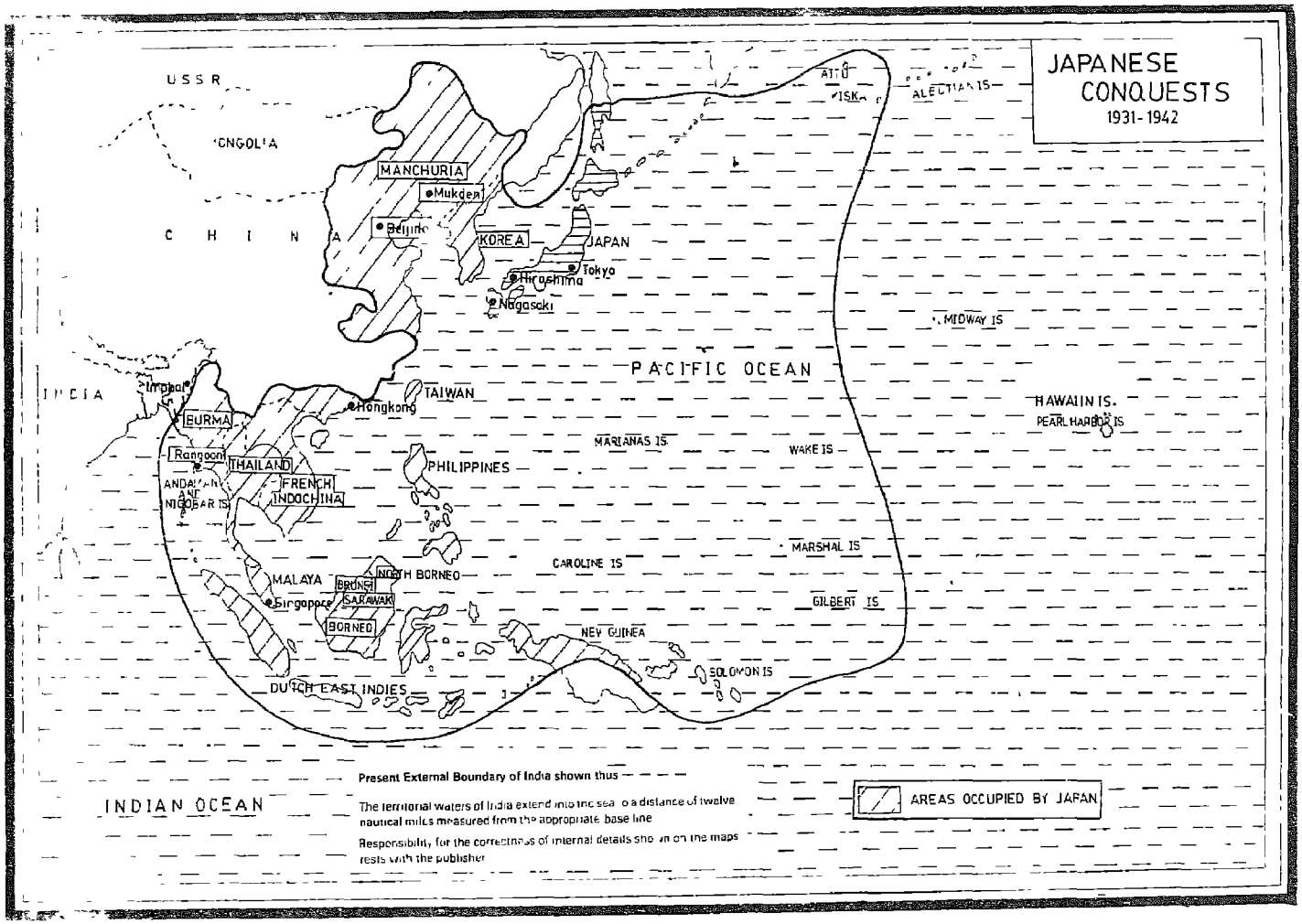
declared war on Japan on 8 December 1941 and soon after Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. Following the U.S. entry into the war, many countries in the Americas joined the war against Germany, Italy and Japan The Japanese achieved significant victories in the war in Asia. Within six months of the attack on Pearl Harbor, they had conquered Malaya, Burma (now Myanmar), Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Hongkong and numerous other areas.

By the middle of 1942, the fascist powers had reached the peak of their power After that the decline began

The Battle of Stalingrad

In January 1942 the unity of the countries fighting against the fascist powers was cemented The representatives of 26 nations, including Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, signed a declaration, known as the United Nations Declaration. The signatories to this Declaration resolved to utilize all their resources to pursue the


EUROPE IN 1942
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
EGYPT
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
London
FRANCE
Vichy
SPAIN
SWITZERLAND
DENMARK
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
U S S R
Leningrad
Moscow
Stalingrad
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Danzig
POLAND
Warsaw
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
ITALY
Rome
TURKEY
SYRIA
SAUDI ARABIA
AXIS COUNTRIES
AREAS UNDER AXIS CONTROL
NEUTRAL COUNTRIES
AREAS UNDER ALLIED CONTROL
VICHY FRANCE

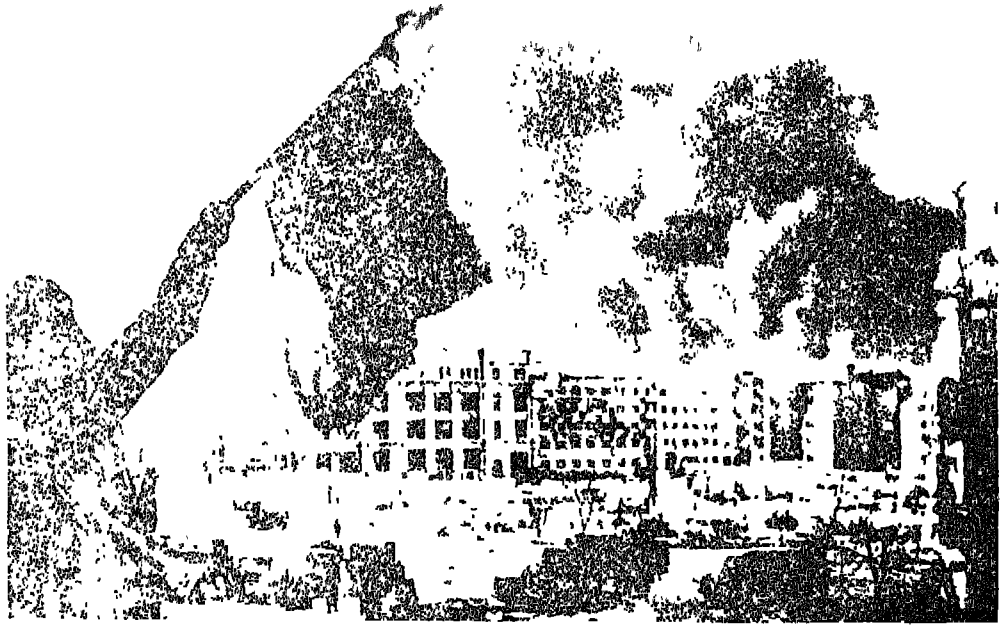

JAPANESE CONQUESTS
1931-1942
USSR
MONGOLIA
CHINA
MANCHURIA
Mukden
Peiping
KOREA
JAPAN
Tokyo
Hiroshima
Nagasaki
ATTU
PISK
ALEUTIAN IS
MIDWAY IS
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIA
Imphal
BURMA
Rangoon
THAILAND
FRENCH INDOCHINA
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR IS
Hongkong
TAIWAN
PHILIPPINES
MARIANAS IS
WAKE IS
HAWAIIN IS.
PEARL HARBOR IS
MARSHAL IS
CAROLINE IS
MALAYA
Singapore
BRUNEI
NORTH BORNEO
SARAWAK
BORNEO
GILBERT IS
NEW GUINEA
SOLOMON IS
DUTCH EAST INDIES
INDIAN OCEAN
Present External Boundary of India shown thus
The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line
Responsibility for the correctness of internal details shown on the maps rests with the publisher
AREAS OCCUPIED BY JAPAN

war until victory was achieved and to co-operate with one another against the common enemy, and promised not to have a separate peace treaty

One of the most important turning points in the war was the Battle of Stalingrad (now called Volgograd) In November and December 1941, the German advance on Moscow met with stubborn resistance and the invasion was repulsed Germany then launched an offensive in southern Russia In August 1942, the German troops reached the outskirts of Stalingrad. For over five months, the battle raged It involved about 2 million men, 2000 tanks and 2000 aeroplanes. The civilian population of Stalingrad joined the soldiers in the defence of the city In February 1943, about 90,000 German officers and soldiers surrendered. In all, Germany had lost about 300,000 men in this battle This battle turned the tide of the war

The 'Second Front'

The fascist countries began to suffer reverses in other areas also. Japan had failed to capture Australia and Hawaii In North Africa, the German and Italian troops were routed by early 1943. The destruction of the fascist army in North Africa was also a major turning point in the war. In July 1943, British and American troops occupied Sicily Many sections in Italy had turned against Mussolini. He was arrested and a new government was formed. This government joined the war against Germany However, German troops invaded northern Italy and Mussolini, who had escaped with the help of Germans, headed a pro-German government there. Meanwhile, British and American troops entered Italy and a long battle to throw the Germans out



German defeat at the Battle of Stalingrad, February 1943

of Italy followed The Soviet Union was attaining significant victories against Germany and had already entered Czechoslovakia and Rumania which had been under German occupation

On 6 June 1944, more than 100,000 British and American troops landed on the coast of Normandy in France. By September their number had reached 2,000,000. The opening of this front played a very crucial role in the defeat of Germany. This is known as the opening of the 'Second Front'. Since 1942 in Europe the most ferocious battles had been fought between Germany and the Soviet Union The Soviet Union had been demanding the opening of the second front for long, as this would compel Germany to fight on other fronts also and would thus hasten the defeat of Germany. From this time onwards the German armies were on the run on all fronts.

End of the War in Europe

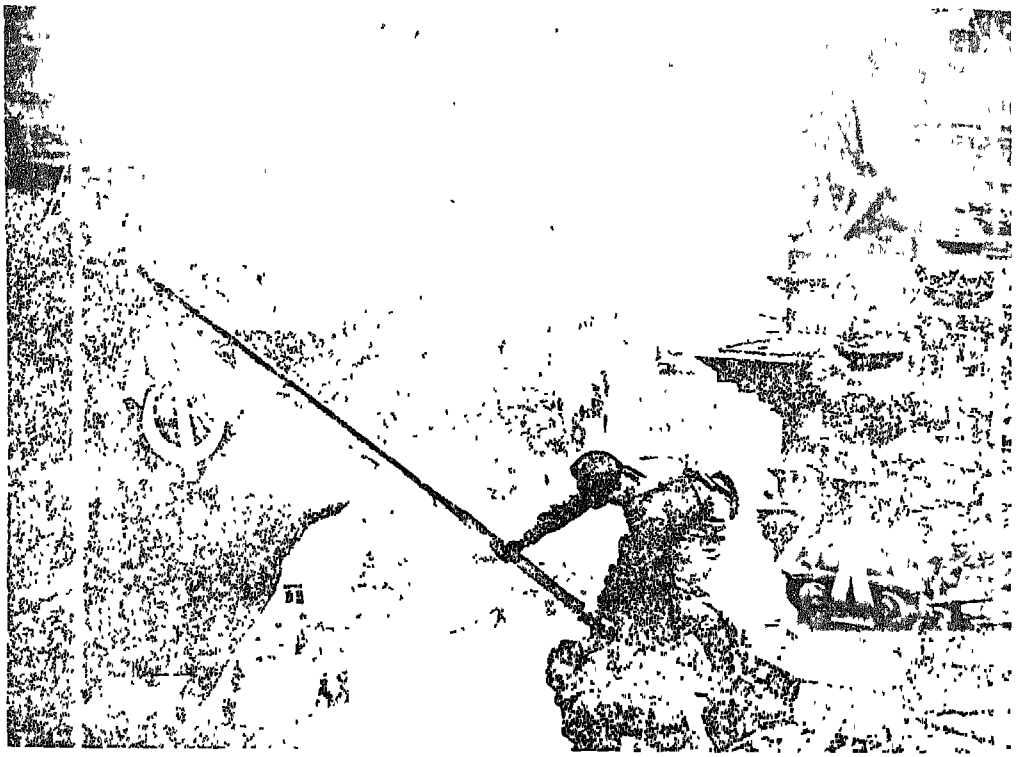
After 6 June 1944, German armies had to face the forces of the Allies from three directions. In Italy, the British and American troops were advancing. Northern and western France and the city of Paris had been freed and the Allied troops were moving towards Belgium and Holland On the eastern front, the Germans were facing a collapse The Soviet army from the east and other Allied troops from the west were closing in on Germany. On 2 May 1945 the Soviet armies entered Berlin Hitler had committed suicide on the morning of the same day On 7 May 1945 Germany unconditionally surrendered. The end of all hostilities in Europe became effective from 12.00 a.m. on 9 May 1945

The Capitulation of Japan

After the defeat of Germany, the war in Asia continued for another three months. Britain and USA had launched successful operations against Japan in the Pacific and in the Philippines and Burma In spite of serious reverses, however, the Japanese were still holding large parts of China. On 6 August 1945, an atom bomb, the deadliest weapon developed during the war, was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. This was the first time that the atom bomb had been used. With one single bomb, the city of Hiroshima was obliterated Another atom bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki on 9 August 1945. The city was destroyed In the meantime, the Soviet Union had declared war on Japan and had started military operations against Japanese forces in Manchuria and Korea On 14 August Japan conveyed its acceptance of the Allied demand to surrender but the actual surrender took place on 2 September 1945 With the Japanese surrender, the Second World War came to an end.

Resistance Movements

In all the countries of Europe which had fallen victim to the aggressions of fascist countries, the people organised resistance movements. In many countries, the governments capitulated before the aggressors without much fighting but people of those countries continued to resist the fascist rule. For example, when the government of France surrendered, the people of France organized a popular resistance movement against the German occupation A French army was also formed outside France under the leadership of General de Gaulle which actively participated in the war. Similar armies of other countries were also organized. Inside the occupied countries, the resistance movements set up guerilla forces Large-scale guerilla activities were organized in many



The Soviet troops entered Berlin on 2 May 1945 The picture shows a Soviet soldier raising the banner of the Soviet Union as a mark of victory.

countries such as Yugoslavia and Greece. In many countries there were large-scale uprisings. The heroic uprising of the Polish people in Warsaw is a glorious chapter in the history of the resistance movements. There were resistance movements within the fascist countries also. The fascist governments of Italy and Germany had physically exterminated hundreds of thousands of people who were opposed to fascism However, many anti-fascists from these countries continued to fight against fascism inside and outside their countries The anti-fascist forces in Italy were very powerful and played an important role in the war against Mussolini and in fighting against German troops in Italy. In France, Greece, and under the leadership of Marshal Tito, in Yugoslavia, the people fought most heroically against fascist aggression The socialists, the communists and other anti-fascists played a very important part in the resistance movements. Millions of civilian fighters against fascism perished in the war.

The people in countries which were victims of aggression fought back valiantly. In Asia, the people of China had to bear the brunt of Japanese aggression from the early 1930s. The civil war that had broken out in China between the communists and the Kuomintang in the late 1920s was

Berlin in ruins at the end of the war

superseded by a massive national resistance against Japanese aggression. In other parts of Asia also which were occupied by Japan, for example in Indo-China, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines and Burma, people organized themselves into strong resistance movements. The peoples who had been fighting against British a French imperialism expressed their support to the war against fascism. Fascism was organized barbarism and was not considered an ally by the peoples who were struggling for their independence. For example, the Indian National Congress while fighting for the independence of India from British rule expressed itself against fascism.

The Damage Caused by the War

The Second World War was the most destructive war in history The fascists had converted a large part of Europe into a vast graveyard and a slave-camp. The Nazis' hatred of the Jews has been mentioned before Inside Germany and in those parts of Europe which came under German occupation before and during the war, Jews were picked up and six million of them were exterminated. The labour of the countries occupied by Germany was utilized and most horrible labour camps were started Millions of people were transferred to what are known as concentration camps and killed Many of these camps such as those in Buchenwald, Oswiecim and Dachau were death camps where new ways of killing people were introduced. People were burnt in gas chambers. There were mass massacres Prisoners were made to dig mass graves, were shot and then buried in those graves. Certain kinds of

Josip Broz Tito (extreme right) with leaders of the Yugoslav resistance, 1944

The survivors from a German concentration camp

factories were located near the concentration camps which produced goods made from human skins and bones. The kinds of tortures and brutalities that the fascists, particularly the German Nazis, perpetrated had no precedent nor did the mass scale on which they were practised Many of these brutalities came fully to light when Germany lost the war, after the discovery of places of mass murders and from the descriptions of those in the concentration camps who had survived. The atrocities committed by the Japanese in countries occupied by them were no less brutal. Inhuman medical experiments were conducted by Japanese 'doctors' and 'scientists' on human beings.

The destruction caused by the war in terms of human lives has no precedent in history. Over 50 million people perished in the Second World War. Of them about 22 million were soldiers and over 28 million civilians. About 12 million people lost their lives in concentration camps or as a result of the terror unleashed by the fascists Some countries lost a large percentage of their population For example, Poland lost six million people, about five million of them civilians, which was about 20 per cent of the Polish population. The Soviet Union in absolute terms suffered the worst — about 20 million people which was about 10 per cent of the population. Germany lost over six million people, about 10 per cent of her population. Besides the human losses, the economy and material resources of many countries were badly damaged. Many ancient cities were almost completely destroyed. The total cost of the Second World War has been estimated at the staggering figure of $ 1,384,900,000,000.

Many new weapons of destruction were devised and used in the Second World War The most dreadful of these was the atom bomb. The atom bomb was first devised in the United States during the Second World War. Scientists of many countries, including those who had come to the United States to escape the fascist tyranny in Europe, had helped in developing it. The project to develop the bomb was taken up when a number of scientists, suspecting that the Nazi Germany was developing the atom bomb, approached the US

government They had feared that if the Nazis developed the bomb, they would use it to terrorize the world into submission. The atom bomb was first tested in July 1945 By then, Germany had already surrendered Many of those who had helped in its development appealed to the US government not to use it against Japan against whom the war was still continuing. They also warned of the danger of starting a race in the production of atomic weapons if the atom bomb was used against Japan. However, the government of the United States used the atom bombs against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as has already been mentioned. The two bombs killed over 320,000 people almost instantaneously and completely wiped out large parts of the two cities The effects of these bombs on the health of those who survived and on their children continue to this day The government of the United States justified the use of the atom bomb on the ground that it brought the Second World War immediately to a close and thus helped to save human lives which would have been lost if the war had continued. Many other people, including many scientists who had helped in making the bomb, condemned the use of the atom bomb After the defeat of Germany and the ending of the war in Europe, Japan was not in a position to continue the war and her capitulation was a matter of days Some scholars hold the view that the main reason for using the atom bomb was to establish the superiority of USA in the world after the war as at that time she alone possessed these weapons. In any case, the prediction of the scientists that the use of the atom bomb would lead to a race for producing atomic weapons came true. Within a few years after the Second World War, some other countries also developed atomic weapons. Also other nuclear weapons, thousands of times more destructive than the ones used against Japan, were developed which, if used, can completely destroy all human life on earth.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1 What were the main features of the fascist and Nazi movements ?
2. Explain the consequences of the economic crisis of 1929-33.
3 What is meant by the term 'Axis Powers' ?
4 Describe the consequences of the victory of fascism on Italy and Germany
5. What were the main aims of the foreign policies of Italy and Germany ? Of Japan ?
6 Describe the main events between 1936 and 1939 which created conditions for another world war
7. What did the Western powers do to counter the aggressive acts of Japan, Italy and Germany between 1931 and 1938 ?
8 Describe the growth of national movements in Asia after the First World War. Name the Asian countries which won their independence between 1919 and 1939
9. Explain the terms : 'Phoney War', Second Front, the Battle of Britain

Things to Do

1. On an outline map of Europe, show the countries which were occupied by Germany between 1936 and August 1939
2. On an outline map of Asia, show the areas which were under Japanese occupation during the Second World War
3. Try to collect the views of Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress on fascism from books on Indian freedom movement
4. Read about the new weapons developed after the Second World War Write an essay comparing the destructive power of these weapons with those used in the Second World War.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. Do you think Western policy of appeasement of the fascist powers brought about the Second World War ? Why ? Or why not ?
2. What was the basic reason for the policy of appeasement ?
3. Do you think the United States was justified in using the atom bomb against Japan ?
4. Why did the Soviet Union sign the Non - Aggression Pact with Germany ? What did she gain from it ? Discuss

CHAPTER 13

The World after the Second World War

THE world has been completely transformed during the years since the end of the Second World War in 1945. Its political map has also changed. The influence and the domination which a few European imperialist powers exercised in the pre-war years became things of the past A large number of nations in Asia and Africa which had been suffering under colonial rule emerged as independent nations Together, they have become a major factor in the world. The United States had emerged as the biggest power after the First World War. The Soviet Union also emerged as a mighty power after the Second World War, in spite of the terrible devastation that she suffered during the war Before the Second World War, the Soviet Union was the only country in the world which professed socialism. After the war, a number of other countries joined her

The two world wars, fought within a brief period of about 30 years, resulted in the loss of millions of human lives The danger of a new world war which would destroy human life altogether created a new awareness of the need for establishing lasting peace Peoples and nations made efforts in this direction by promoting mutual relations based on friendship and cooperation. They also created many new institutions and agencies for the purpose However, in spite of these efforts the period after the Second World War has been full of stresses and strains. It has seen many conflicts and wars in which hundreds of thousands of people have been killed even though the world has escaped a large-scale conflagration.

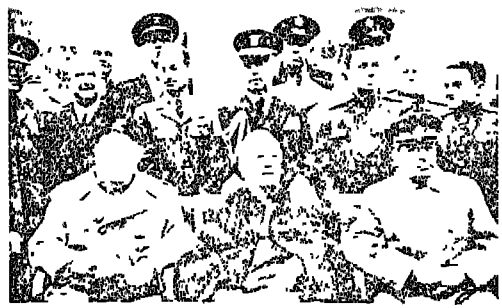
Since the late 1980s, further changes have taken place in some parts of the world Some of the consequences of the Second World War and, in some cases, even of the First World War have been undone during the past five years. During this period, some of the issues which dominated the world and some of the forces and factors which shaped the world for about four decades after the war have become irrelevant. The 'threat of communism' which had been a major factor in determining the policies of many countries since the Russian Revolution and, even more so, after the Second World War is no longer an issue. Communist regimes in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe have collapsed. The Soviet Union has broken up into 15 independent States. Many other changes have taken place the world over and it is possible to think of the period from the late 1980s as the one marking the beginning of a new phase in the history of the world after the Second World War.

Immediate Consequences of the Second World War

During the war, the major Allied nations had held many conferences and had issued declarations stating the principles which would form the bases of peace. The first major declaration had been issued by Britain and USA in 1941. It stated that Britain and the United States would not seek any territory. It also supported the right of every people to have the form of government of their choice. Early in 1942 was issued, as mentioned before, the United Nations Declaration. This Declaration supported the one issued by Britain and USA earlier. Another declaration stated that all the Chinese territories taken by Japan would be restored to her. In 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, leaders of Britain, USA and the Soviet Union, respectively, met at Teheran They declared their resolve to "banish the scourge and terror of war" and to create a world in which all peoples "may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences" Early in 1945 when Germany was on the verge of defeat, the heads of the three big nations met at Yalta in the Soviet Union. Here they agreed on a number of issues such as how to deal with Germany and the non-German territories which had been liberated from Germany

The Yalta Conference also took the decision to set up a new organisation to replace the League of Nations. Subsequently, a conference was held at San Francisco, USA, from 25 April 1945. The conference was attended by 50 nations. On 26 June the conference adopted the United Nations Charter under which a new world organization was set up This was the United Nations Organization which was based on the principle of "the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states" The purposes of the United Nations Organization were to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character

To carry out these objectives, six principal organs of the United Nations Organization (now referred to as the United Nations or simply the UN) were created These were (1) the General Assembly composed of all the members of the UN; (2) the Security Council composed of five permanent members, viz. the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, and six others to be elected by the General Assembly for a period of two years The Security Council was made primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and security (The number of non-permanent members was subsequently raised from six to ten); (3) the Economic and Social Council of 18 members to promote "respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all"; (4) the Trusteeship



Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin at Yalta, February 1945

Council; (5) the International Court of Justice, and (6) the Secretariat with a Secretary-General appointed by the General Assembly as its head. A number of specialized agencies of the UN were also created such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO) (this body had been created after the First World War), etc It was realized that unless all the permanent members of the Security Council, who were at that time the biggest powers, were agreed, no course of action for the maintenance of peace and security could be effective Hence it was provided that any decision of the Security Council must have the support of all five permanent members.

The setting up of the United Nations was one of the most important consequences of the Second World War.

The Potsdam Conference

Another major conference of the heads of government of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union was held at Potsdam (near Berlin) from 17 July to 2 August 1945 The declaration issued by this conference mentioned the main aims of the Allies with regard to Germany which had already surrendered Germany had been partitioned into four zones, each under the control of Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union The declaration stated that the aim of the Allied occupation of Germany was to bring about the complete disarmament of Germany, to destroy the Nazi Party and to prepare conditions for the creation of a democratic Germany It was also decided to set up an international tribunal to bring to trial persons who had committed crimes against humanity Decisions were also taken regarding the border between Poland and Germany, and the transfer of the northern part of East Prussia to the Soviet Union and the southern part to Poland.

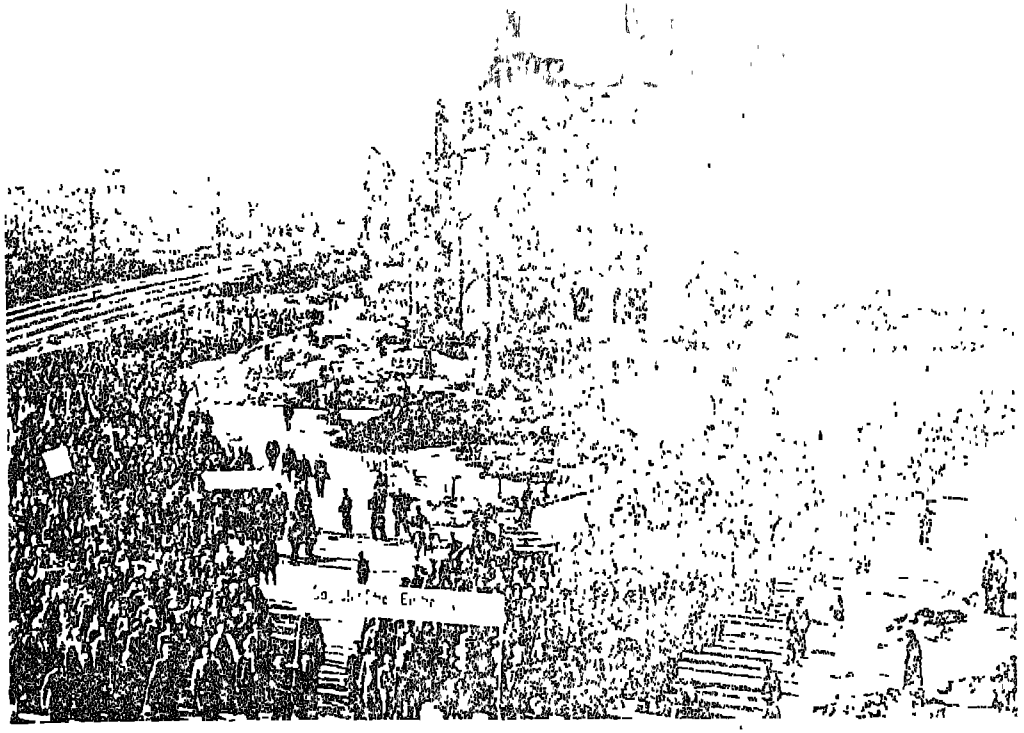
The various conferences held during and after the war influenced the political developments after the war

Europe after the Second World War

Many countries in Europe had been liberated from German occupation by the Soviet armies These countries were Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia

The Communist parties and other anti-fascist parties in these countries had played an important role in the struggle against German occupation of these countries By the end of 1948, the governments of all these countries were dominated by the Communist parties. In Albania and Yugoslavia, the struggle against German occupation had been led by the Communist parties of these countries. In these countries too Communist parties formed the governments. The establishment of the Communist parties' rule in these countries was a significant development after the Second World War Up to the Second World War, the only country in Europe, and the world, ruled by a Communist party was the Soviet Union Now a large number of European countries were ruled by Communist parties. In these countries, other political parties were either not allowed to exist or had only a nominal presence. The political power was exclusively in the hands of the Communist parties. The presence of Soviet troops in these countries ensured the continuance of the Communist parties' monopoly of power. Sometimes,

EUROPE AFTER SECOND WORLD WAR
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
IRELAND
Dublin
DENMARK
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
London
Moscow
U S S R
Berlin
EAST GERMANY
Warsaw
POLAND
HOLLAND
Bonn
LUX.
Paris
Prague
WEST GERMANY
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
Belgrade
Bucharest
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
ITALY
Rome
YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKEY
IRAN
SYRIA
IRAQ
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
MEDITERRANEAN SEA



A rally in Berlin to mark the formation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, April 1946

the Soviet troops were used to suppress movements which opposed the domination of Communist parties. Within the Communist parties themselves, differences over policies were not allowed and the power within the Communist parties became concentrated in a few hands. As in the Soviet Union, dissent even within the ruling parties was not tolerated and many veteran communists were shot or sentenced to long periods of imprisonment after fake trials. Sometimes these countries were branded as 'satellites' of the Soviet Union. The Communist party of Yugoslavia was the only ruling Communist Party which refused to be dominated by the Soviet Union. But at the same time, the government of Yugoslavia did not allow other political parties to function.

Within a little more than four years after the end of the Second World War, certain developments took place which resulted in the division of Germany. The four powers —Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union— which were in occupation of four different zones of Germany followed different policies in dealing with the social, economic and political problems in their respective zones. In the British, French and American zones, the economic development continued on capitalist lines. The two major parties in these zones were the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party. In 1948, Britain, France

and the United States decided to merge the three zones under their control which were in West Germany and form a separate government there. In September 1949 these zones were united and a separate state in West Germany called the Federal Republic of Germany with its capital at Bonn came into being. In East Germany which was under Soviet occupation, the policies pursued were different from those that had been followed in the western zones. Lands were distributed among peasants and all the major industries were taken over from private hands and made the property of the state In 1946 the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in the Soviet zone of Germany merged to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In October 1949, the Soviet zone became a separate state called the German Democratic Republic The Socialist Unity Party of Germany became the ruling party in the German Democratic Republic. Thus Germany came to be divided into two states, each following its own pattern of social, economic and political development The division of Germany into two independent states, which lasted for over four decades, was a major consequence of the Second World War.

In other parts of Europe also, important political changes took place. The Communist parties of France and Italy had played an important role in the resistance movements in these countries They had emerged as powerful parties at the end of the war In the first government formed in France after the war, the Communist Party of France was represented. However, it quit the government in 1947 because of differences over economic policies and over the question of independence for the countries comprising Indo-China. The French government was trying to reestablish its rule over Indo-China which the Communist Party opposed. In the Italian government, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party were an important force. In 1946, monarchy was abolished and Italy became a republic In 1947 the Christian Democratic Party came to power and the Communist Party quit the government. However, even though the Communist and Socialist parties were out of the government in these two countries, they were together a powerful force in the politics of the two countries. For many years, in both these countries, the socialist parties became the ruling parties either alone or in alliance with other parties The Communist parties, however, were almost throughout the period after 1948 kept out of the government. In recent years, while the Italian Communist Party —it is now called the Democratic Party of the Left—has remained a powerful force, the influence of the French Communist Party has declined

In Britain, the elections were held in July 1945. The Conservative Party whose leader Winston Churchill had been the Prime Minister during the war lost and the Labour Party came to power India won her independence during this period. During the Labour Party's rule many significant changes took place in the economy of the country Many important industries such as coal mines and railways were nationalized. Steps were taken to provide social security to the people, and to build a welfare state in Britain. In 1951, the Conservative Party was returned to power and the Labour Party became the ruling party in 1964 Thus, neither of these parties remained in power for long and both of the parties were more or less equally matched Only in recent years, there seems to have

been a decline in the influence of the Labour Party.

The political system in most countries of Western Europe was based on the parliamentary form of government. Their economies had suffered a serious setback, and it affected their international position Gradually through their own efforts and with massive American aid, these countries were soon on the way to rebuild their economies However, the domination that these countries exercised over the world before the First World War and to a lesser extent after that had declined. The period after the Second World War saw the rapid decline of their empires

The Cold War

Since the end of the First World War, the United States had emerged as the strongest power in the world. After the Second World War, her power had grown still more compared with the European powers who had dominated the world for centuries. This was both in the spheres of economic and military strength. After she acquired the atom bomb, the awareness of her power was further strengthened. The United States at that time was the only country which possessed the atom bomb

Next to the United States the mightiest power in the world after the Second World War was the Soviet Union. She had suffered more than any other country in the war Besides the 20 million people that she lost during the war, hundreds of her towns and thousands of factories had been completely destroyed. However, in spite of these losses, her power and prestige had increased This was to some extent due to the very important role that she had played in defeating Germany. Since the revolution, she had been ostracized and boycotted and had faced the open hostility of the other big powers However, after the war, a number of countries in Europe, as has already been mentioned, were ruled by communist parties. The Soviet Union exercised a lot of influence over the governments of these countries. As a result of these developments, the isolation of the Soviet Union had come to an end. Also, in many countries of Europe, as well as of Asia, communist parties had emerged stronger after the war. These parties were generally supporters of the Soviet Union Some of these parties were actively engaged in organizing revolutions in their countries. For example, the communists had been a major force in the resistance against German occupation of Greece. A large part of the country came under their control when the German army retreated from there However, after the war was over, monarchy was restored in Greece and the new government began to suppress the communists. This resulted in a civil war which lasted till 1949 when the communists were finally defeated.

During the war, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union had together fought against the fascist countries. Many declarations issued during the war had emphasized that the unity among these countries would continue after the war also and would be the basis of a durable peace and international brotherhood. These declarations had aroused hopes all over the world However, the war was hardly over when conflicts and tensions began to emerge between Britain and the United States on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. The relations between them began to deteriorate and came to be characterized by what has been called the Cold War Gradually, the Cold War be-

came more and more intense and the world was divided into two major blocs — the United States and West European countries forming one bloc and the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe forming the other. Sometimes the 'cold' war became 'hot' but the hostilities remained confined to specific areas.

The most important reason for the 'outbreak' of the Cold War was the Western countries' fear of communism. With the increase in the might of the Soviet Union, the emergence of governments ruled by communist parties in Eastern and Central Europe and the growing strength of communist parties in many parts of the world, alarmed the governments of the United States, Britain and other West European countries. In 1949, the victory of the Communist Party of China in the civil war which had been raging there for about two decades added to the alarm. The United States openly declared that her policy was to prevent the spread of communism. One of the objectives of the massive economic aid that the United States gave to West European countries was also to 'contain' communism. The United States began to look upon every development in the world from this standpoint, whether it promoted or helped in checking communism. Britain and West European countries became aligned with the United States and began to follow a policy mainly aimed at curbing the growth of communism. This had many adverse consequences for democracy, and freedom movements in the colonies. Restrictions were imposed on the liberties of the people, for example, in the United States, and justified on the ground of national security and preventing communist influence. The freedom movements in many countries began to be considered unsympathetically by countries which were not themselves colonial powers but were aligned to the colonial powers. For example, the United States supported France in suppressing the freedom movement in Indo China. Countries which wanted to pursue an independent policy and promote relations with the Soviet Union were looked upon with suspicion. All these factors made the international situation tense. In some areas it resulted in wars and in many other areas it led to prolonging of conflicts.

The growing tension in the world was worsened by the setting up of military blocs. In 1949 was formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for defence against the Soviet Union. The members of this alliance were the United States, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg. Turkey, Greece, the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain became its members later. A NATO army was created which established its bases in many countries of Europe. Similar military alliances were set up by the United States and Britain in other parts of the world. In 1954 was set up the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) with the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan as members. In 1955 the Baghdad Pact was brought into being. It consisted of Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan and Iran. The United States established its military bases all over the world for use against what she considered the danger of communist aggression. The formation of these alliances and the establishment of military bases worsened the already tense international situation. These alliances and the military bases came to be looked upon by

countries, which were not members of the alliances, as a danger to peace and to their independence In some countries which were members of these alliances, these alliances were very unpopular For example, when there was a revolution in Iraq in 1958, that country withdrew from the Baghdad Pact which had been named after capital of Iraq The name of Baghdad Pact was then changed to the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) These alliances were generally unpopular in the countries of Asia and Africa as all the imperialist powers of Europe were members of these alliances and used it to suppress the movements for freedom Most of the countries of Asia and Africa which had won their freedom refused to join these alliances. As against these Western and Western-sponsored alliances, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe —Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic – formed the Warsaw Pact. Under this pact, the Soviet Union stationed her troops in these countries However, the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact did not have any military bases in other parts of the world The Soviet Union had treaties of friendship and mutual assistance with China

The formation of the military alliances was accompanied by another dangerous development. This was the race for deadlier weapons of destruction. You have already read about the use of two atom bombs against Japan towards the end of the Second World War. For about four years after the Second World War, only the United States possessed atomic weapons. In 1949, the Soviet Union tested her first atom bomb. A few years later nuclear weapons which were thousands of times more destructive than the atom bombs used against Japan, were developed. These were the thermonuclear or hydrogen bombs The testing alone of these bombs created serious hazards to life. Many movements were launched in all parts of the world to demand a ban on the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons. Most of the leading scientists such as Einstein and Linus Pauling also supported this demand. However, the arsenals of nuclear weapons in the world went on increasing There are so many nuclear weapons in the world today that the world can be destroyed many times over. Along with the nuclear weapons and many other kinds of weapons, new bombers, submarines and missiles have been developed which can carry these weapons over thousands of kilometres. The race for armaments which was a part of the Cold War has created the danger to the very survival of human race. Vast resources have been spent on developing these weapons These resources, if they had been utilized for peaceful purposes, would have gone a long way in abolishing want and poverty of which millions of people all over the world are victims.

As has been mentioned earlier, many newly independent nations of Asia and Africa as well as many nations in other continents did not join the military blocs They began to follow a policy of non-alignment with any military bloc. Their emergence played a very important role in reducing the intensity of the Cold War and in creating an atmosphere of peace A crucial role in promoting non-alignment and peace was played by India after her independence.

RISE OF ASIA AND AFRICA

The rise and growth of nationalism in Asia and Africa has been briefly mentioned in Chapter 12 The period after the Second World War saw the emergence of most countries of Asia and Africa as independent nations One country after another in these continents became independent They won their independence through long and hard struggles against colonial powers. To some countries independence came only after long and bitter armed struggle, to others without much bloodshed but not without a long period of strife. Generally, the colonial powers were not willing to give up their hold on the colonies and left only when they found that it was not possible to maintain their rule any more. During the Second World War, many imperialist countries had been ousted from their colonies, but after the war they tried to re-establish their rule. For some time they succeeded in doing so but were ultimately forced to withdraw

The achievement of independence was the result primarily of the struggles of the peoples of the colonies However, the changes in the international climate which followed the Second World War helped the peoples struggling for independence Imperialism as a whole had been weakened as a result of the war. The economies of many imperialist countries had suffered Forces within the imperialist countries which were friendly with the peoples struggling for independence also had grown powerful Freedom and democracy were the major aims for which the Allies had fought against the fascist countries and these aims had been made the basis for arousing peoples all over the world against fascism. The fulfilment of these aims could no longer be confined only to Europe, as had been done after the First World War In many colonies which fascist countries had occupied by ousting the older colonial powers, the freedom movements had played an important role in the struggle against fascist occupation For example, Japan had to face the resistance of the freedom movements in the countries of East and South-East Asia which she had occupied It was not easy to restore the rule of the former colonial powers over these countries dis-

Another major international factor which facilitated the end of imperialism was the emergence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a major force These countries were inimical to imperialism and often gave aid and support to the freedom movements in the colonies Similarly, the movements of socialism which had grown powerful the world over, including in the colonial countries, also supported the movements of freedom in the colonies

The entire international context in which the freedom movements were launched had changed after the Second World War. At the international forums, particularly at the United Nations, the cause of the independence of colonies began to gain popularity The international opinion was clearly against the continuation of imperialism. Imperialist countries resorted to various means to maintain their rule They tried to create divisions in the freedom movements They resorted to the use of terror. In some countries they tried to install governments which were nominally free but were in fact their puppets However, most of the freedom movements were able to defeat these methods of disruption.

An important role in the achievement of

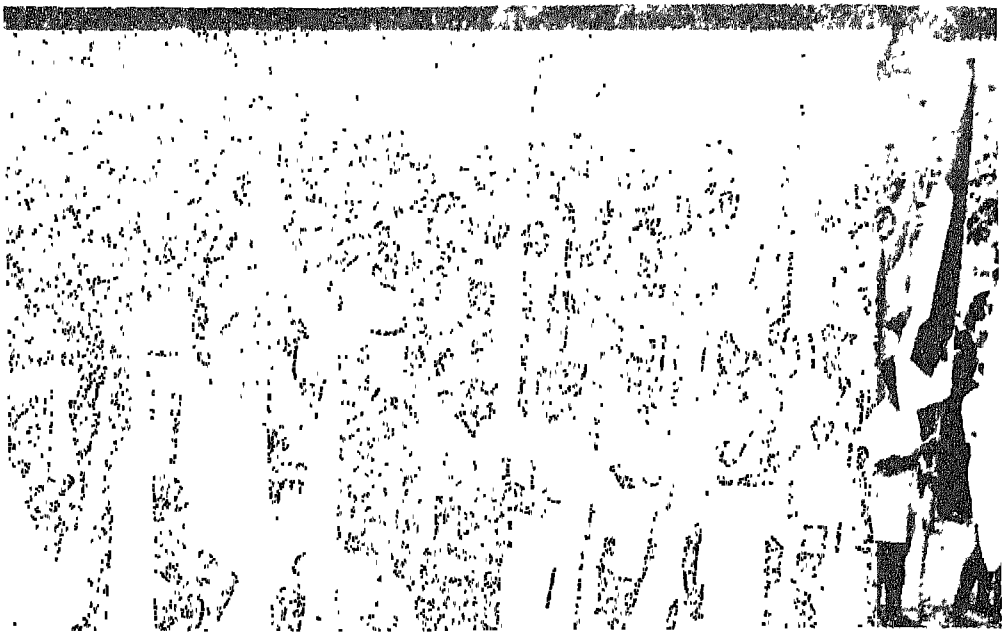
independence by the countries of Asia and Africa was played by the unity which freedom movements in various countries achieved The freedom movement in one country supported the freedom movements in other countries The role of countries which had achieved their independence was very crucial in this regard. These countries supported the cause of those peoples who were still under colonial rule at the United Nations and other international forums. They also gave active help to the freedom movements. India played a crucial role in promoting the cause of freedom in Asia and Africa Besides the movements in the colonies for independence, there were also movements in Asian and African countries to oust outdated political systems, to modernize the social and economic systems and to assume control over the resources of one's country which had remained under foreign control even after freedom. These movements expressed the resolve of the peoples of Asia and Africa to become fully independent as well as to launch programmes of rapid social and economic development. Within two decades of the end of the Second World War, the political map of Asia and Africa had been completely changed.

Emergence of Independent Nations in Asia

Within a few years after the Second World War, a large number of Asian countries became independent One of the first to win her independence was India about which you will read in detail in Chapter 16. India had, however, been partitioned and along with India, another independent state, Pakistan, also came into being. (Pakistan broke up in 1971 when her eastern part—now Bangladesh—became independent) The independence of India was of great importance in the history of freedom movements in Asia and Africa The policies pursued by the government of independent India under the leadership of her first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, helped in strengthening the freedom movements in other countries and in hastening the achievement of independence by them

Burma, renamed Myanmar recently, achieved her independence from Britain a few months after India became independent. In 1944, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) had been formed in Burma. Its aim was to resist the Japanese invasion of Burma and to win independence for Burma After the war, the British tried to restore their rule over Burma This led to the intensification of the movement for freedom. In the course of the struggle, many leaders of the Burmese freedom movement were assassinated However, Britain was forced to agree to the demand for freedom and Burma became independent on 4 January 1948.

The beginning of the nationalist movement in Indonesia has been referred to in the previous chapter. After the defeat of Japan, Sukarno, one of the pioneers of the freedom movement in Indonesia, proclaimed the independence of Indonesia However, soon after the British troops landed there in order to help the Dutch to restore their rule. The government of independent Indonesia which had been formed by Sukarno resisted the attempt to reestablish colonial rule. There were demands in many countries of the world to put an end to the war which had been started in Indonesia to restore the Dutch rule. In Asian countries, the reaction was particularly intense The leaders of the Indian freedom movement demanded that Indian soldiers



A youth rally in Java to celebrate the independence of Indonesia

who had been sent to Indonesia as a part of the British army should be withdrawn. After India became free, she convened a conference of Asian nations in support of Indonesia's independence The conference met in New Delhi in January 1949 and called for the complete independence of Indonesia. The resistance of the Indonesian people and the mounting pressure of world opinion and Asian countries compelled Holland to set the leaders of Indonesian people free. On 2 November 1949, Holland recognized the independence of Indonesia.

Within a few months of India's independence, Sri Lanka (Ceylon) also became free in February 1948. Thailand had been occupied by Japan and after the defeat of Japan became independent. During the war, Japan had driven out the American forces from the Philippines. In 1946, the government of the United States agreed to the independence of the Philippines. In Malaya British rule had been reestablished after the war In 1957, Malaya (now Malaysia) became an independent nation.

The Revolution in China

You have read earlier about the unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China which had been built under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-Sen for the complete independence and unification of China. This unity had been broken after the death of Sun Yat-Sen and a civil war started in China between the Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communist Party of China whose most important leader was Mao Zedong. After the Japanese invasion

of China, the two parties and their armies cooperated for some time to resist the Japanese aggression However, the conflicts between the two never ceased The Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-Shek was a party which mainly represented the interests of capitalists and landlords The Communist Party, on the other hand, was a party of workers and peasants. In the areas under Communist Party's control, the estates of landlords had been expropriated and the land distributed among the peasants. Because of the policies pursued by the Communist Party, it gradually had won over millions of Chinese people to its side. The Communist Party had also organized a huge army called the People's Liberation Army After the defeat of Japan and the driving out of the Japanese forces from China, the civil war again broke out. The government of the United Stated gave massive aid to Chiang Kai-Shek, but by 1949 his armies were completely routed. With the remnants of his troops, Chiang Kai-Shek went to Taiwan (Formosa), an island which had been occupied by Japan after she had defeated China in 1895 On 1 October 1949, the People's Republic of China was proclaimed and the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong came to power.

The victory of the Communist revolution in China was a world-shaking event The most populous country in the world had come under communist rule. Besides the socialist countries of Europe, there were now two mighty powers in the world –the Soviet Union and China – which were ruled by communist parties. Imperialism was further weakened in Asia as a result of the Chinese revolution.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China was a defeat for the United States She refused to recognize the government of China for over two decades. According to the United States, the legal government of China was that of Chiang Kai-Shek in Taiwan (Formosa). Because of the US attitude, the most populous country in the world was denied even membership of the United Nations for over two decades

For many years, friendly relations existed between India and China. Together, the two countries played a very important role in the freedom movements of the peoples of Asia and Africa and in bringing about the unity of the Asian and African nations. However, towards the end of the 1950s, the foreign policy of the Chinese government began to change. In 1962, China committed aggression against India which dealt a severe blow not only to the friendship between India and China but also to the unity of Asian African nations China's relations with the Soviet Union also began to deteriorate She supported Pakistan against India over various issues. After 1970, her relations with the United States began to improve. She was admitted to the United Nations and is now one of the five permanent members of the Security Council

The Korean War

Korea, as you have read before, had come under Japanese rule in 1910. After Japan's defeat in the Second World War, she was divided into two zones, the northern zone under Soviet occupation and the southern zone under American occupation, to bring about the surrender of Japanese troops. The aim was to make Korea an independent state. However, as in the case of Germany in Europe, two different governments in Korea were formed in 1948 – the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) under the leadership of Korean Communists and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) by a group of parties under the leadership of Syngman Rhee. Rhee was an anti-communist and wanted an alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek to prevent the spread of communism Both the states organized their armies and there were frequent clashes between them In 1948, the Soviet troops withdrew from Korea followed by the American troops who withdrew in 1949 Both the governments of Korea favoured unification of the country but there was no meeting ground between them.

In June 1950 war broke out between North and South Korea The Chinese revolution had already taken place and the United States feared further expansion of communism in this area. The United States sent troops to support South Korea in the war Troops from some other countries aligned with the United States also fought in Korea. These troops fought as the troops of the United Nations because the Security Council of the United Nations had passed a resolution condemning North Korea and had asked members of the United Nations to aid South Korea. After the entry of the American forces in the war, the Chinese forces also entered the war and the situation took a very serious turn. There was a real danger of another world war breaking out, as by this time the Soviet Union also had acquired atomic bombs. However, though the war in Korea raged for three years, it did not turn into a world war The armistice was signed in 1953 Korea remained divided into two separate states India played a very important role in bringing the war in Korea to an end Even though the war was confined to Korea, hundreds of thousands of people were killed, including over 142,000 Americans.'

The Korean war added to the danger of another world war It also worsened the tensions in the world and led to the intensification of the Cold War.

The Struggle in Vietnam

One of the most heroic battles for freedom was fought by the people of Vietnam This country along with Laos and Cambodia comprised Indo-China which had come under French colonial rule. After the French government surrendered to Germany, many parts of Indo-China were occupied by Japan. The movement for the freedom of Indo-China from French rule had started many years earlier The greatest leader of the people of Vietnam was Ho Chi-Minh. He had been engaged in organizing the communist and the nationalist movements in Vietnam since soon after the end of the First World War. The Vietnamese people under Ho Chi-Minh's leadership resisted the Japanese occupation and organized a people's army called the Viet Minh By the time the Second World War ended, the Viet Minh controlled a large part of Vietnam. In August 1945, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed with Ho Chi-Minh as President However, the British troops as well as the troops of Chiang Kai-Shek arrived in Vietnam on the pretext of completing the surrender of Japanese troops there In October 1945, the French troops also arrived with the aim of restoring French rule. In 1946, the French army started fighting against the Viet Minh. They also set up a government with Bao Dai, who had headed the puppet government under Japan earlier, as the ruler The war between the Viet Minh and France continued for eight years. In 1954, the French forces

suffered a severe blow at the hands of the Viet Minh at the fortress of Dien Bien Phu. The French defeat at Dien Bien Phu has become famous because a people's army without any sophisticated weapons had defeated the army of a powerful imperialist country. The debacle at Dien Bien Phu compelled the French government to start negotiations with the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In July 1954, an international conference was held at Geneva. It was agreed to partition Vietnam temporarily into North Vietnam and South Vietnam and to hold elections all over Vietnam within two years to unify the country under a single government. Cambodia and Laos, the other two countries of Indo-China, were made independent.

With the partition of Vietnam, another phase in the freedom movement in Vietnam began. The government that was established in South Vietnam, with the support of the United States, refused to abide by the decisions of the Geneva conference with regard to the holding of elections and the unification of Vietnam. It came to be increasingly regarded as being under the control of the United States which was opposed to the unification of Vietnam under the leader ship of the communist party. In the early 1960s, uprisings broke out in South Vietnam against the government there. This was followed by the massive military intervention of the United States in Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of American troops were sent there with some of the most advanced weaponry to suppress the popular uprising. The war continued for a number of years. The South Vietnamese people led by the National Liberation Front carried on guerilla warfare. They had the support of North Vietnam The American troops carried the war into North Vietnam. Incalculable damage was done to Vietnam as a result of the heavy bombings by American forces The American troops also used weapons of bacteriological warfare. Vast areas of Vietnam were devastated and hundreds of thousands of people killed The American forces also suffered heavy casualties.

The United States was almost completely isolated in the world over the war in Vietnam. Besides the opposition to this war by scores of governments, there was a worldwide movement of protest against the U.S. government and of solidarity with the people of Vietnam The only movement of this kind had emerged in the 1930s in support of the Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War and against Germany and Italy who were actively helping the fascists in Spain The opposition to the war grew in the United States itself on an unprecedented scale Thousands of Americans refused to be drafted in the U.S. army and many American soldiers deserted No other single issue had united millions of people all over the world as the war in Vietnam However, the U.S government continued the war even though it was clear that she could not win it

Early in 1975, the war took a decisive turn. The armies of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam swept across the country routing the American-supported troops of the government of South Vietnam In January 1973, the American troops had begun to withdraw from Vietnam. During the war in Vietnam, 58,000 of them had lost their lives By 30 April 1975, all the American troops had withdrawn and the capital of South Vietnam, Saigon, was liberated. North and South Vietnam were formally united as one country in 1976. The city of Saigon was renamed Ho Chi-Minh City after the great

leader of the Vietnamese people who had died a few years earlier in 1969

The emergence of Vietnam as a united and independent nation is an historic event in the history of the world A small country had succeeded in winning her independence and unification in the face of the armed opposition of the greatest power in the world The help given to Vietnam by the socialist countries, the political support extended to her by a large number of Asian and African countries, and the solidarity expressed by the peoples in all parts of the world had helped in bringing victory to the people of Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam had also spread to Cambodia In 1970, the government of Prince Narodom Sihanouk was overthrown and a puppet government was installed there. The troops of the USA and South Vietnam had carried the war to Cambodia on the ground that the Vietnamese were receiving their supplies from bases in Cambodia. By the time the United States withdrew from the war in 1975, a party which called itself Khmer Rouge had taken control of Cambodia under the leadership of Pol Pot. The government of Pol Pot established a regime of terror in Cambodia and started following a policy of genocide against its own people. The estimates of people murdered by the Khmer Rouge vary from one million to three million. In 1979, Pol Pot's government was overthrown with the help of Vietnamese troops. However, the war in Cambodia continued as the Khmer Rouge still had some areas under its control inside the country. It also operated from across the border with Thailand. In the meantime, three groups, including the Khmer Rouge and the group led by Narodom Sihanouk, came together in opposition to the government in Cambodia which was supported by Vietnam

Peace was restored in Cambodia recently The United Nations brought the various warring factions together and an agreement was signed under the auspices of the United Nations. The Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia. In 1993, elections were held and a coalition government was formed. The Khmer Rouge, however, remained outside the government and its troops continued their armed attacks in some parts of the country.

DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA

Syria and Lebanon Become Independent

As in other parts of Asia, there was an upsurge for freedom in West Asia also immediately after the Second World War You have read in the previous chapter about the movement of the people of Syria against the French rule. After the war, the French tried to restore their authority over Syria and Lebanon but, in the face of opposition from the people of these countries and the world opinion, they were forced to withdraw. Both Syria and Lebanon became independent by the end of 1946

There was an upsurge in all the Arab countries at this time and the 1950s saw their emergence as independent nations Some countries which had been nominally free asserted their independence. There were also movements to overthrow the outdated political systems which existed in some countries All these led to conflicts and, in some cases, prolonged wars between the Arab countries and the imperialist powers The period saw the growing

power of Arab nationalism which led to efforts by the Arab people and governments to come together to face and solve common problems. The Arab League was formed comprising all the Arab states

However, before many of the Arab countries could gain their independence, a development took place in West Asia which was to become a source of tension and lead to many wars in the years to come. This was the creation of the state of Israel.

The State of Israel

Palestine, as has been mentioned before, had become a British mandate in 1919. The British troops again occupied the country in 1945. Palestine was inhabited by Arabs and Jews. A movement called the Zionist movement claimed that Palestine was the homeland of all the Jews, wherever they may be living, and should be restored to them. The persecution which the Jews in Europe had suffered for centuries had culminated in the Nazi Germany's policy of exterminating them Millions of Jews were killed in Germany and in those countries of Europe which had been occupied by Germany. The terrible tragedy had won them the sympathy and support of the world.

The British in Palestine had permitted some Jews from outside Palestine to settle there The Zionists had, meanwhile, been campaigning for a Jewish state there. This had complicated the freedom movement in Palestine the majority of whose inhabitants were Arabs. In 1947 the United Nations passed a resolution according to which Palestine was to be divided into an Arab state and a Jewish state. However, in 1948, the British withdrew their troops from Palestine and soon after the state of Israel was proclaimed This led to a war between the Arab states and Israel. The Arab states were defeated in the war

The creation of Israel became a source of tension in West Asia. The Arab states refused to recognize her as a legitimate state. The policies pursued by the government of Israel further added to the bitterness About 900,000 Arabs were forced to leave their homes and lands in Palestine and were rendered homeless. They found shelter in various refugee camps in Arab states. Most countries of Asia and Africa condemned the Israeli government's treatment of the Arabs of Palestine and for following racist policies. In 1956 Israel joined Britain and France in invading Egypt Later there were other wars between Israel and the Arab states as a result of which Israel occupied large parts of the territories of other Arab states

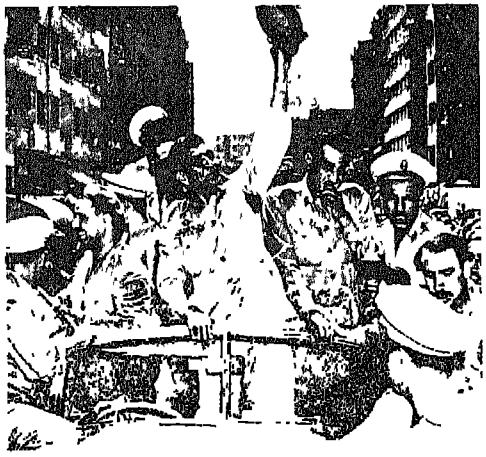
These territories include the Gaza Strip, the Golan Hights and the West Bank. More than a million Palestinians live in the occupied territories In spite of the resolutions of the United Nations, Israel refuse to vacate Arab territories and restore the rights of the Palestinian Arabs many of whom live as refugees in various Arab states. In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed to fight for the establishment of a Palestinian state. It enjoys the status of a member-state of the Non-Aligned Movement Recently an agreement was signed between the government of Israel and the PLO. Under this agreement, the PLO recognized the state of Israel and the government of Israel agreed to give the Palestinians autonomy in some areas presently under Israeli occupation

The Revolution in Egypt

After the First World War, Egypt had become a British 'mandate'. However, under the pressure of the nationalist movement,

Egypt had been declared independent in 1922 though British troops continued to remain there. After the Second World War, the demand for the withdrawal of British troops gained strength There were serious clashes between the Egyptians and the British soldiers in which hundreds of Egyptians were killed The discontent was also directed against the king of Egypt who had been installed by the British. The discontent against the British and the king led to a revolution in 1952 when the Egyptian army under the leadership of Lt Colonel Gamal Abdal Nasser and General Muhammad Naguib overthrew the monarchy and declared Egypt a republic The new Egyptian government demanded the withdrawal of British troops and they were withdrawn in June 1956.

The government of Egypt under the leadership of Col Nasser began the economic reconstruction of the country. Egypt refused to be aligned with the United States and the latter stopped the sale of arms to Egypt. Egypt, however, began to receive military and economic aid from the Soviet Union In 1956, Egypt announced the nationalization to the Suez Canal which had been under the control of Britain and France Three months later, Israel, Britain and France, according to a plan, invaded Egypt. The aggression committed against Egypt led to world-wide protests The countries of Asia voiced their vehement condemnation of the invasion. There were massive protest demonstrations against the British government inside Britain also. The Soviet Union warned the aggressor countries that unless they withdrew from Egypt she would send her forces to crush the aggressors Almost every country in the world, including the United States, denounced Britain, France and Israel in the United Nations The universal condemnation of aggression led to the withdrawal of British and French forces from Egypt. The ending of aggression strengthened further the unity of Asian and African countries in general and of Arab countries in particular. It also showed the growing strength of the countries which had won their independence only a few years ago The Suez War also added to the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union as a friend of the peoples who were trying to assert their independence.



Colonel Nasser and General Naguib after they had led a successful revolution in Egypt

Libya Gains Independence

You have read before that Libya had come under Italian rule in 1911 During the Second World War, some of the most ferocious battles between German and British troops were fought in Libya. At the end of the war, the country was occupied by Britain and France. In 1951, Libya became independent with a monarchical form of government. From 1960 she became one of the largest petroleum producing countries in the world and as a result some sections

French soldiers taking suspected Algerian guerillas for questioning, 1955

of Libyan society grew very rich while the majority of the population remained extremely backward. The king did not permit any opposition to his rule. The United States built one of its strongest air bases on Libyan territory. In 1969, a group of army officers captured power and soon after abolished the monarchy. The new government proclaimed that it would give primacy to the unity and solidarity of the Arab people

Freedom Struggle in Algeria

The 1950s saw the emergence of a number of independent nations in North Africa. However, the independence was preceded by years of struggle against the imperialist countries which wanted to retain their colonial possessions. As in Indo-China, the French returned to Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria However, in 1956 Tunisia and Morocco won their independence

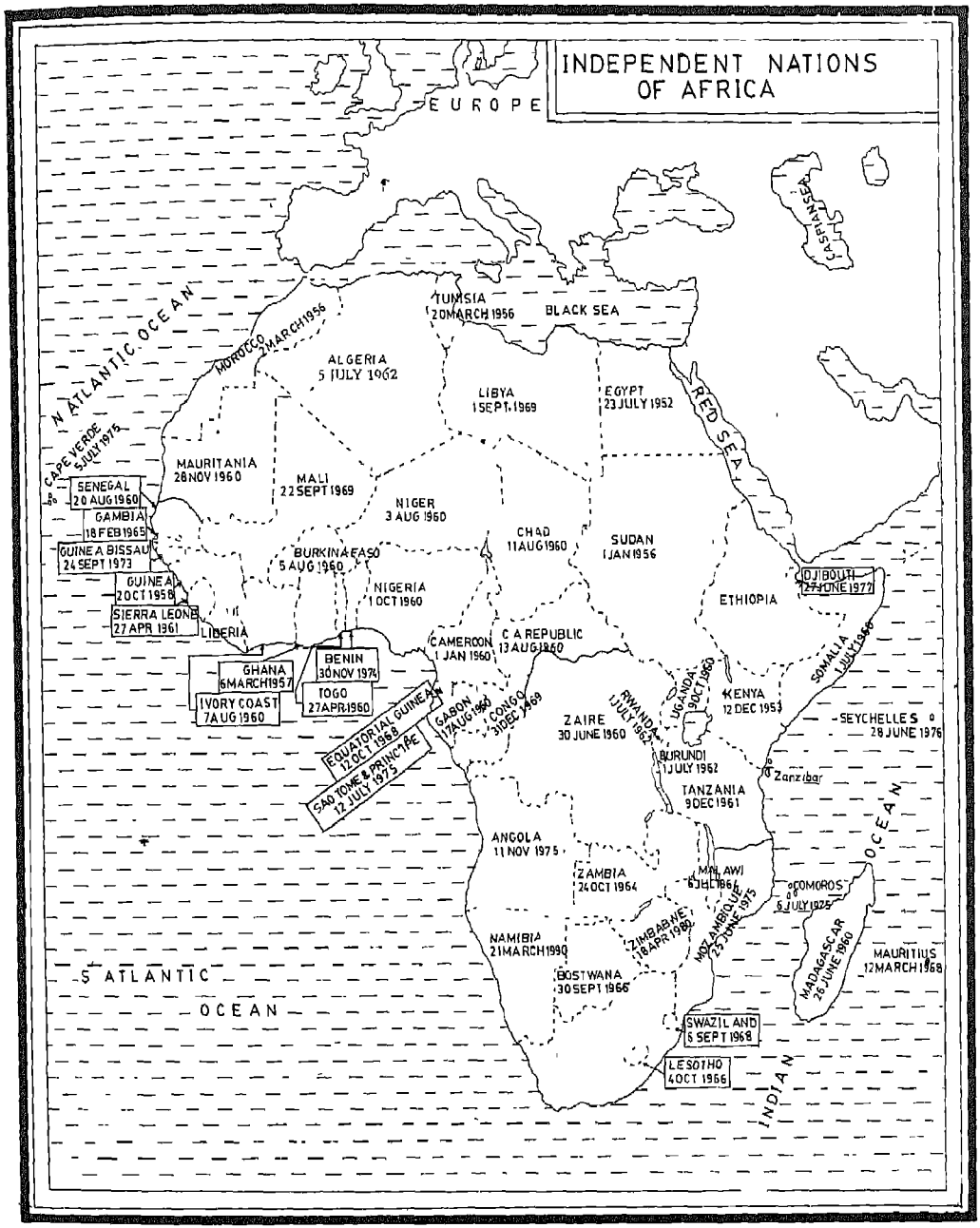
The North African country which had to wage the longest and the hardest battle for freedom was Algeria She had been conquered by France as early as 1830 though it had taken France another four decades to fully establish her rule there As in Indo-China, the struggle against French rule in Algeria had a long history behind it. In 1954 the nationalist organisation of the people of Algeria called the FLN (National Liberation Front) gave a call for an armed struggle against the French rule Armed clashes resulted in thousands of casualties

Soldiers of the National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria in 1962

on both sides By 1958, the Algerian nationalists had organized a large army of their own and proclaimed the formation of a government of the republic of Algeria. The war in Algeria had serious consequences inside France. It created political instability in France. The Communist Party of France along with many other French leaders had been supporting the cause of Algerian independence However, many sections in the French army were under the influence of the French settlers in Algeria who where opposed to any negotiations with the Algerian leaders over the question of independence. In 1958, General de Gaulle became the President of France He conceded the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and opened negotiations with the leaders of the FLN This policy was opposed by some sections of the French army in Algeria who revolted against de Gaulle and even made attempts to assassinate him However, the revolt was suppressed. On 1 July 1962 a referendum was held in Algeria and the people of Algeria voted almost unanimously for independence On 4 July 1962 Algeria became an independent republic. The independence of Algeria had been won at the cost of over 140,000 Algerian lives.

Achievement of Freedom by African Nations

You have read in Chapter 9 that with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, almost every part of Africa had been conquered by European imperialist powers by the end of the nineteenth century. After the First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INDIAN OCEAN
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TUNISIA 20 MARCH 1956
ALGERIA 5 JULY 1962
LIBYA 1 SEPT. 1969
EGYPT 23 JULY 1952
CAPE VERDE 5 JULY 1975
MAURITANIA 28 NOV 1960
SENEGAL 20 AUG 1960
GAMBIA 18 FEB 1965
GUINEA BISSAU 24 SEPT 1973
GUINEA 2 OCT 1958
SIERRA LEONE 27 APR 1961
LIBERIA
MALI 22 SEPT 1969
NIGER 3 AUG 1960
BURKINA FASO 5 AUG 1960
NIGERIA 1 OCT 1960
GHANA 6 MARCH 1957
IVORY COAST 7 AUG 1960
BENIN 30 NOV 1974
TOGO 27 APR 1960
CHAD 11 AUG 1960
SUDAN 1 JAN 1956
CAMEROON 1 JAN 1960
C A REPUBLIC 13 AUG 1960
EQUATORIAL GUINEA 12 OCT 1968
SAO TOME & PRINCIPE 12 JULY 1975
GABON 17 AUG 1960
CONGO 31 DEC 1969
ZAIRE 30 JUNE 1960
RWANDA 1 JULY 1962
UGANDA 9 OCT 1962
KENYA 12 DEC 1963
ETHIOPIA
DJIBOUTI 27 JUNE 1977
SOMALIA 1 JULY 1960
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BURUNDI 1 JULY 1962
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ANGOLA 11 NOV 1975
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COMOROS 6 JULY 1975
MOZAMBIQUE 25 JUNE 1975
ZIMBABWE 18 APR 1980
NAMIBIA 21 MARCH 1990
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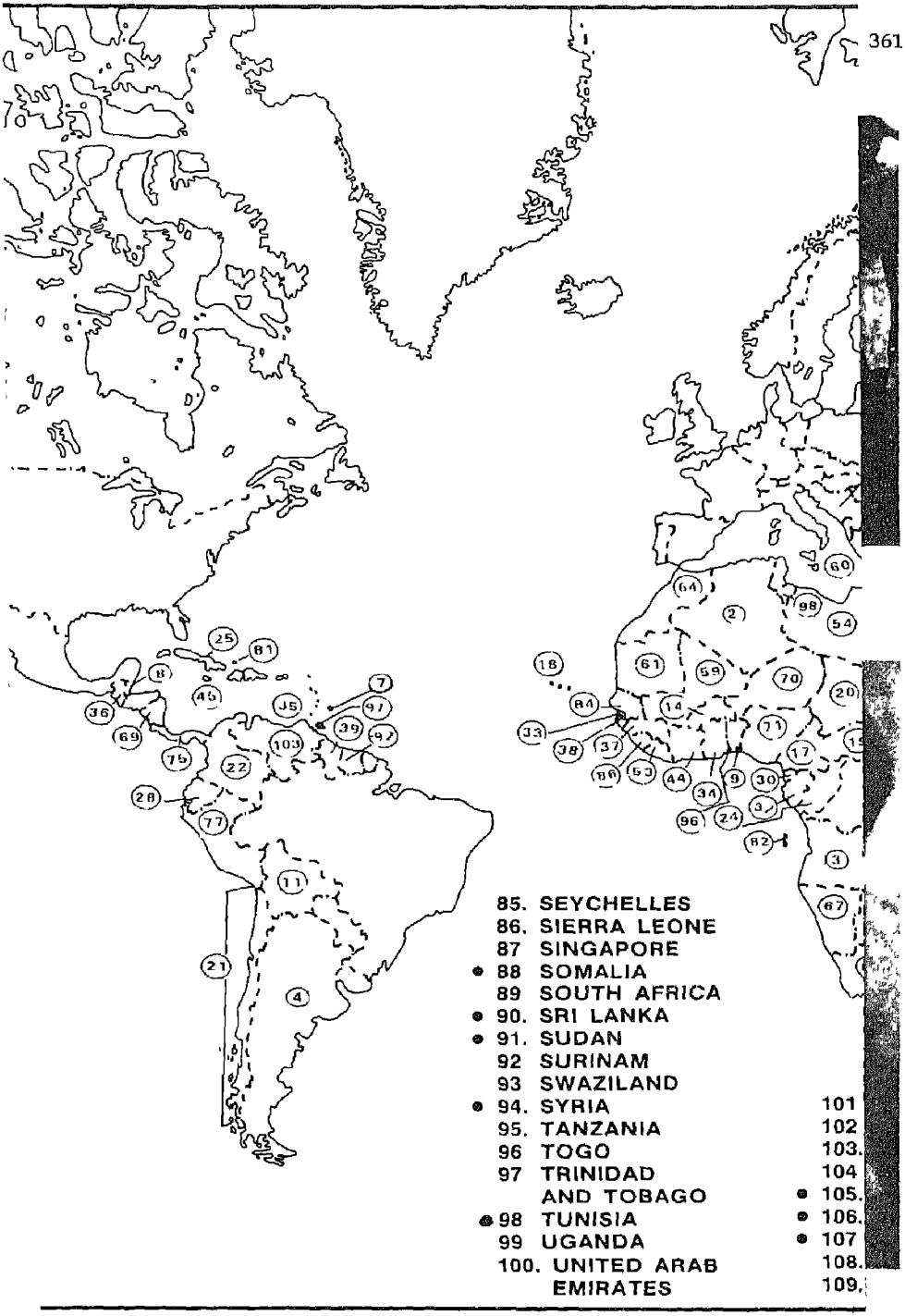
World War, the only change that took place there was the transfer of the former German colonies in Africa to the victorious Allied powers. However, the period after the First World War saw, as in Asia, a resurgence of nationalist movements in Africa. After the Second World War, the disintegration of the colonial rule in Africa began The achievement of independence by North African countries has been mentioned already. The countries of southern Africa began to gain their independence after the mid-1950s. Within two decades, almost every country in Africa, with the exception of South Africa and South-West Africa (Namibia), became independent.

Kwame Nkrumah

The freedom movements in Africa, as in other parts of the world, were the consequence of the growth of nationalism and the increasing resentment against the exploitation and oppression by the colonial countries. The international situation further strengthened these movements. The Second World War had resulted in the general weakening of imperialism It had also shattered the myth of the invincibility of some major colonial powers in Africa such as France and Belgium which had suffered defeat in Europe during the war The collapse of colonialism in Asia within a few years after the war also had a tremendous impact on freedom movements in Africa. The question of Africa's freedom gradually became one of the major issues in the world.

The first country in southern Africa to gain independence was Ghana You have read earlier (Vol. I, Chapter 4) about the powerful kingdom of Ghana in West Africa during the eighth to the twelfth centuries. The British had conquered a part of this region to which they gave the name Gold Coast The most prominent leader of the people of the Gold Coast colony was Kwame Nkrumah who in 1949 had organized the Convention People's Party A strong trade union movement had also emerged in Gold Coast. The Convention People's Party and the trade unions joined together to demand independence from Britain However, most of their leaders were arrested and attempts were made to suppress the demand for freedom. After 1950, the British government started introducing certain constitutional reforms. Under pressure from the People's Party which had won a resounding victory in elections, the British government agreed to



85. SEYCHELLES
86. SIERRA LEONE
87 SINGAPORE
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89 SOUTH AFRICA
• 90. SRI LANKA
• 91. SUDAN
92 SURINAM
93 SWAZILAND
• 94. SYRIA
95. TANZANIA
96 TOGO
97 TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
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99 UGANDA
100. UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

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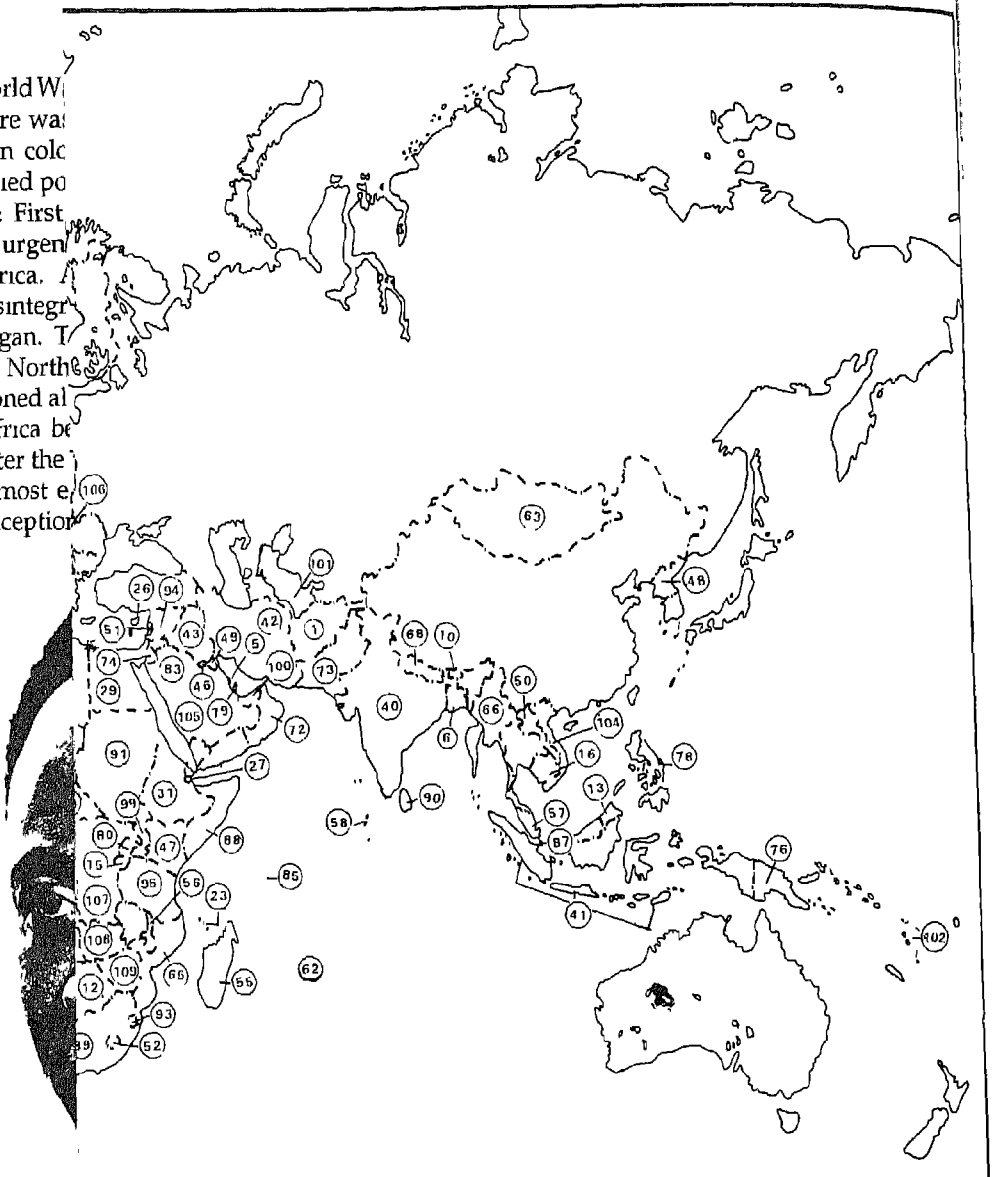
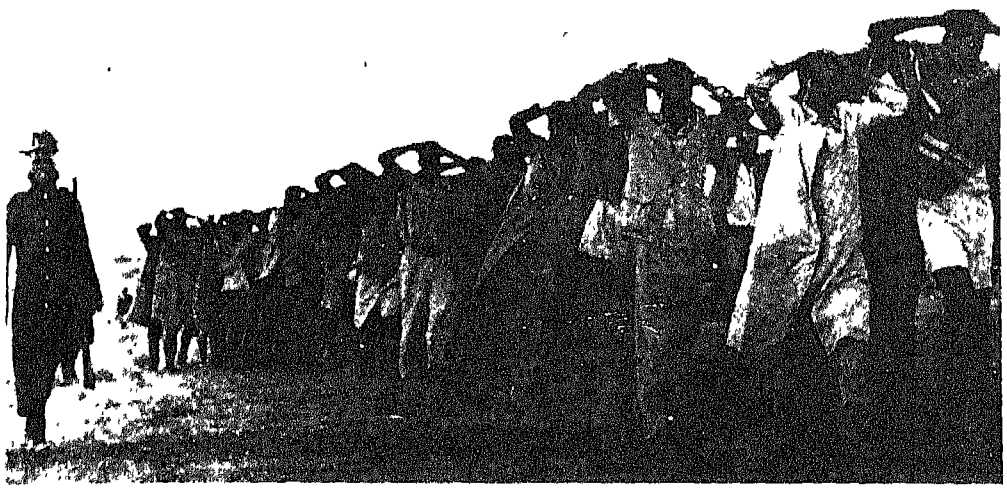


UZBEKISTAN
VANUATU
VENEZUELA
VIETNAM
YEMEN
YUGOSLAVIA
ZAIRE
ZAMBIA
ZIMBABWE

The First Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961 was attended by 25 member-countries. These countries have been marked in the list with ●. Egypt and Syria at that time formed one State -- the United Arab Republic. After the formation of a democratic government, South Africa also became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1994



Mau Mau prisoners being taken to a concentration camp

the independence of Gold Coast. The new independent state which came into being on 6 March 1957 called itself Ghana, after the name of the old West African kingdom The part of Togoland which had been under British control also joined Ghana.

The next country to achieve her independence was the French colony of Guinea in West Africa. In 1958, while embroiled in the war in Algeria, France held a referendum in her colonies which had been grouped together as French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. The people of Guinea voted for complete independence and Guinea was proclaimed a republic on 2 October 1958.

The achievement of independence by Ghana and Guinea gave additional confidence to the freedom movements in other parts of Africa and accelerated the pace of achievement of independence by other nations. The promotion of the cause of African freedom was a major objective of India's foreign policy from the time India

Jomo Kenyatta

won her independence India's struggle for freedom had also been a source of inspiration to African nationalists.

The year 1960 is generally regarded as the Africa Year. In that year, seventeen countries in Africa gained their independence. These included all the French colonies in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa, Nigeria and Congo (formerly Belgian Congo, now called Zaire).

Between 1961 and 1964, a number of countries in East and Central Africa also became independent. These were Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Rwanda and Burundi. Sierra Leone, Gambia, Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) and Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) also gained their independence. The freedom movement in Kenya was led by Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African Union. In 1952, a revolt by peasants had broken out This is known as the Mau Mau rebellion It was directed against the seizure of land by the British colonial authorities. To suppress the rebellion, 15,000 Kenyans were killed and about 80,000 sent to concentration camps Jomo Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1953 on the charge of supporting the Mau Mau rebellion Having failed to suppress the freedom movement, Britain had to give in and Kenya became independent in 1963.

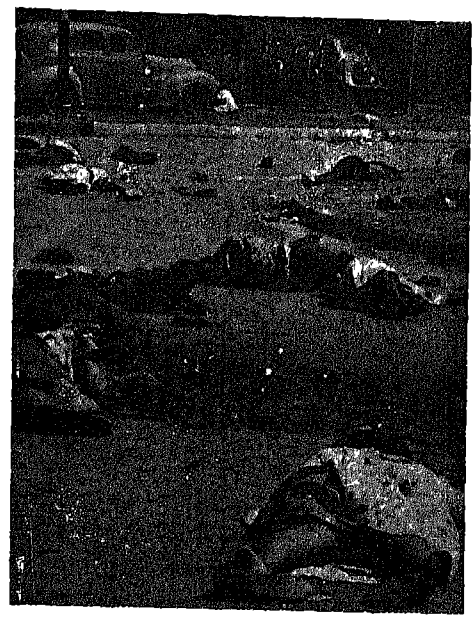
Many of the newly independent countries of Africa faced serious problems during the years following their independence. The imperialist powers tried their best to maintain their hold over their former colonies by direct intervention and by creating dissensions. In Congo, for instance, Belgium, with the help of some other countries and the mercenaries from various countries, brought about the secession of the rich province of Katanga. On the appeal of Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo, United Nations troops were sent to bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops and mercenaries. However, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated and the country thrown into chaos for a number of years.

Before the end of the 1960s, almost entire Africa, with the exception of Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, and South Africa, South-West Africa and Rhodesia, had become free. Powerful freedom movements had started in the Portuguese colonies. They had organized their liberation forces and had secured the help of many countries in their struggle for freedom. In April 1974, the Portuguese army, which had been mainly used to suppress the freedom struggles in the colonies, overthrew the 50-year old dictatorship in Portugal with the support of the people. The communists, socialists and other radical elements in the armed forces and the new government of Portugal were opposed to the continuation of the Portuguese rule in Africa. They entered into negotiations with the freedom movements in the Portuguese colonies and by 1975 all the former Portuguese colonies in Africa became independent. Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) became independent in April 1980

The last country in Africa to become independent was Namibia, formerly South-West Africa It was a German colony before the First World War and was handed over to South Africa as a 'mandate' after the defeat of Germany in that war. South Africa treated South-West Africa as her colony and refused to withdraw from there in spite of the resolutions of the United Nations. The freedom movement there

was led by the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which was formed in 1960. It gained momentum when SWAPO started a war with the help of its guerilla forces to liberate the country It was made a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Non-Aligned Movement, the African governments and the United Nations played an important role in the success of the freedom movement in Namibia. The war in Namibia came to an end in 1989 when South Africa agreed to a plan for the independence of the country. SWAPO won a majority of seats in the elections which were held in November 1989 and on 21 March 1990 Namibia became independent.

South Africa —Union of South Africa since 1910 and Republic of South Africa since 1961—has been an independent country in the sense that she was not ruled from another country The government of South Africa was, however, among the most oppressive regimes in the world in the twentieth century. It was under the exclusive control of the white minority practising the worst form of racism. Under the system of *apartheid* established in South Africa, all people were classified and separated on the basis of race Each group had to live in a separate area. There were separate schools and universities, separate theatres, separate shopping centres, separate coaches in trains for whites and blacks and others The teams for sports also were formed on the basis of race. Marriage between persons belonging to different races was a criminal offence. There were restrictions on movement from one place to another The best lands in the country were under the control of the whites who had all the economic and political power. The non-whites had no vote and no say in the governance of the country. The system of apartheid was used to maintain the rule of the white minority over about 80 per cent of the population which comprised black and coloured people as well as people of Indian origin. This system, in the name of separation of the races, denied human rights to the majority of the population. It may be recalled that Mahatma Gandhi had started the fight against racial discrimination in South Africa long before he became a leader of the freedom movement in India



Demonstrators protesting against apartheid laws were massacred at Sharpeville in South Africa, 22 March 1960.

The main organization of the South African people which led the movement for ending the rule of the white minority and establishing a non-racist democratic South

South African police assaulting demonstrators, Johannesburg, 1972

Africa was the African National Congress (ANC). It was set up in 1910. The movement against the obnoxious system of apartheid was intensified in the 1950s The government depended on the use of terror to maintain its rule. There were incidents of massacres of peaceful protestors. In 1960, the African National Congress was banned and most of its leaders were arrested The ANC then organized its own army to fight against the racist regime

South Africa was increasingly isolated from the rest of the world India had been from the beginning in the forefront in support of the struggle to dismantle the apartheid regime. She was the first country in the world to sever relations with South Africa and to extend her full support to the people of South Africa Many other countries followed suit. The United Nations also condemned the policies of South Africa In the 1980s some Western countries which had maintained military and economic relations with South Africa also imposed sanctions against her. By the end of the 1980s, the international isolation of the South African regime was complete

From the end of the 1980s, the process of ending the system of apartheid began. The ban on the African National Congress was lifted and its leaders released. Among them was Nelson Mandela who had been in prison for 26 years and had became a symbol of the struggle against apartheid Many apartheid laws were abolished and negotiations were started between the ANC and the South African government for framing a new constitution which would give *all* South Africans the right to vote. Elections

in which all South Africans for the first time were given the right to vote were held in April 1994 After these elections, a new non-racist and democratic government came to power in South Africa. Nelson Mandela was elected president of the country

Thus within the last three decades, most of Africa has become independent and the independence of the remaining parts cannot be deferred for long. Many African countries have changed their names. The colonial powers had given them names which had little to do with their past history and culture Some countries and cities had been named after colonial adventurers, for example, Rhodesia, Leopoldville, Stanleyville, etc. The African peoples are trying to overcome the damage caused to them during the colonial rule Renaming their countries and cities after their original names is a part of their effort to reestablish and assert their independence and national identity. The need to unite in the face of common tasks and for achieving common aims led to the emergence of the unity of all African states These aims included the safeguarding of their independence and to help the liberation movements in those countries in Africa which were still fighting for their independence. The most significant step taken in this direction was the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The emergence of the countries of Asia and Africa as independent nations marked a new phase in the history of the world These countries which had been suppressed and kept under subjugation for a long time came to their own and began to play an important role in the world Similar developments have also taken place in Central and South America and the Caribbean The countries which were under European colonial rule in this part of the world have become independent The United States frequently interfered in the internal affairs of these countries, particularly when radical governments came to power and tried to assert their political and economic independence. One of the significant developments in this region was the Cuban revolution which overthrew the corrupt and dictatorial government headed by Batista on 31 December 1958 In 1961, the United States sent mercenaries to Cuba but the invasion ended in a fiasco and was crushed in less than three days

Having common problems and sharing common aspirations, the peoples of these countries began to act together although there was no organization binding them However, they began to develop some common understanding on world affairs, particularly on the question of the independence of nations which were still under foreign rule In 1955, an important event took place which helped to strengthen the unity of African and Asian countries. This was the Afro-Asian conference which was held at Bandung in Indonesia The conference was attended by 23 Asian and 6 African countries The leaders of three Asian nations, India, China and Indonesia played an important role in the deliberations of this conference The growing importance of the Afro-Asian countries was reflected in the United Nations where on a number of issues the countries of Asia and Africa functioned as a group.

Another significant development in the world after the independence of Asian and African countries was the emergence of Non-Aligned Movement You have read

before about the Cold War and the formation of military blocs and the growth of tension in many parts of the world. Most of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa refused to join the Cold War. They considered the formation of military blocs as a serious danger to peace and to their independence These countries were faced with the enormous task of social and economic reconstruction which could be done only in a world free from war and tension. Some countries in Asia had joined the military alliances and had allowed foreign bases to be set up on their soil. The extension of military alliances and the setting up of foreign bases were considered by most Asian countries as a threat to their independence and a source of tension Hence they opposed these alliances. They were also aware of the danger which the continuance of imperialism in some parts of Asia and Africa posed to them and to world peace. The non-aligned nations of Asia and Africa, therefore, were in the forefront of the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism. Non-alignment has primarily been a policy aiming at the strengthening of independence, ending of colonialism and promoting world peace. It was not merely a policy of non-involvement with military blocs but a policy for creating a better world

India under the Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru played a pioneering role in making non-alignment a major force in the world. The other leaders who played an important role in the non-aligned movement were President Sukarno of Indonesia, President Nasser of Egypt and President Tito of Yugoslavia The first summit conference of non-aligned nations was held at Belgrade in Yugoslavia in September 1961. It was attended by heads of state or government of 25 countries. Besides Yugoslavia and Cuba, from Europe and the Americas, respectively, the other participating countries were from Asia and Africa Three other countries attended as observers The statement issued at the end of this conference affirmed the basic principles of non-alignment such as the stabilization of peace, liquidation of colonialism and imperialism in all their forms, peaceful coexistence between nations, condemnation of racial discrimination, opposition to military alliances, disarmament, respect for human rights, establishment of economic relations between nations based on equality and free from exploitation, etc.

The popularity of the policy of non-alignment was reflected by the number of countries which joined the group of non-aligned nations. Beginning with 25 countries which attended the Belgrade conference in 1961, there are today 109 countries which are following the policy of non-alignment They are drawn from Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas. The Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement was held at Jakarta, in Indonesia, in September 1992. The Seventh Summit had been held at New Delhi with India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi as the Chairperson, and the Sixth Summit at Havana, in Cuba, in 1979 under the Chairmanship of President Fidel Castro. Two movements of national liberation —the Palestine Liberation Organization and South - West Africa People's Organization —were made full-fledged member-states of the Non-Aligned Movement. (As mentioned earlier, Namibia, whose struggle for independence was led by SWAPO, has already become independent). All countries of Africa, including South Africa, are members of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Non-Aligned

NON-ALIGNMENT

The word 'Non-Aligned' may be differently interpreted, but basically it was coined and used with the meaning of being non-aligned with the great power blocs of the world 'Non-aligned' has a negative meaning. But if we give it a positive connotation it means nations which object to lining up for war purposes, to military blocs, to military alliances and the like We keep away from such an approach and we want to throw our weight in favour of peace In effect, therefore, when there is a crisis involving the possibility of war, the very fact that we are unaligned should stir us to feel that more than ever it is up to us to do whatever we can to prevent such a calamity down upon us...

Some six, seven or eight years ago, non-alignment was a rare phenomenon A few countries here and there asked about it and other countries rather made fun of it or at any rate did not take it seriously "Non-alignment? What is this ? You must be on this side or that,'' — that was the argument That argument is dead today. The whole course of history of the last few years had shown a growing opinion spread in favour of the concept of non-alignment Why ? Because it was in tune with the course of events, it was in tune with the thinking of the vast numbers of people, whether the country concerned was non-aligned or not, because they hungered passionately for peace and did not like this massing up of vast armies and nuclear bombs on either side Therefore, their minds turned to those countries who refused to line up

The most fundamental fact of the world today is the development of new and mighty forces We have to think in terms of the new world There is no doubt that imperialism and the old-style colonialism will vanish Yet the new forces may help others to dominate in other ways over us, and certainly the under-developed and the backward. Therefore, we cannot afford to be backward

We have to build in our own countries societies where freedom is real Freedom is essential, because freedom will give us strength and enable us to build prosperous societies These are for us basic problems. When we think in terms of these basic problems, war becomes an even greater folly than ever If we cannot prevent war, all our problems suffer and we cannot deal with them. But if we can prevent war, we can go ahead in solving our other problems We can help to liberate the parts of the world under colonial and imperial rule and we can build up our own free, prosperous societies in our respective countries That is positive work for us to do .

From Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at the first Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held at Belgrade, 2 September 1961

Movement has played a very important role in world affairs, particularly in ending colonialism and in promoting peace. The non-aligned countries are also working for the creation of a new international economic order in which the economic relations between nations would be based on equality, non-exploitation of one nation by another, and the narrowing down of economic disparities between nations.

Recent Developments

Some of the changes that have taken place in recent years such as those in Cambodia, Israel (Palestine), Namibia and South Africa have been mentioned in this chapter. Many other changes which have taken place in the world, along with these, are so far-reaching that they can be said to mark the beginning of a new phase in the history of the world after the Second World War. Some of them have been so sudden that it would take some time to fully comprehend their significance

A major feature of the history of the world for almost four decades after the end of the Second World War was the antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union and the armed confrontation between the military blocs headed by them. This was the period of the Cold War and the race in the designing and production of ever new weapons of mass destruction. It posed a danger to the very survival of humankind. In the 1970s and early 1980s, some beginnings were made to end the Cold War. Agreements were reached between the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate some categories of carriers of nuclear weapons and to reduce the number of certain types of weapons installed in certain areas. The process of ending the Cold War, however, suffered many setbacks In 1979, Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. This development increased the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States launched a programme of developing new and even more deadly weapons, popularly known as the Star Wars. These weapons would have meant taking the conflict into outer space and launching attacks from there However, the world situation began to improve after the mid-1980s and by the end of the 1980s it could be said with much certainty that the era of Cold War had came to an end. By early 1989, Soviet troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. Many other changes took place from the late 1980s and it is generally agreed that we are now living in a post-Cold War world. This can be considered as the most significant and positive development that has taken place in recent years.

Many changes of great historical importance have taken place in the Soviet Union and in countries of Eastern and Central Europe. The most significant of these has been the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ending of the communist regimes there and in other countries of Europe. In 1956, three years after the death of Stalin, the Communist Party of Soviet Union had denounced the excesses and crimes committed by Stalin. From 1985, many important reforms began to be introduced in the political system of the Soviet Union with a view to promoting political democracy. There was free and open discussion on every issue and curbs on the freedom of thought and expression were lifted.

Reforms in economy were also initiated to end the stagnation that had set in and to improve the living conditions of the people. The importance of these reforms was recognized the world over. Two Rus-

sian words —*perestroika*, meaning 'restructuring', and *glasnost*, meaning 'openness'— which were used to describe these reforms gained international currency The hold of the Communist Party over the political life of the country was loosened and other political parties were allowed to function. In the meantime, there was a demand for greater autonomy by the republics which constituted the Soviet Union. Some republics wanted to become independent. Attempts were made to frame a new treaty which would provide greater autonomy to the republics and at the same time preserve the Union However, in August 1991, there was an attempt to stage a coup by some leaders of the Communist Party Though the coup collapsed, the Soviet Union began to break up Many republics declared their independence On 25 December 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev, who was the President of the Soviet Union during this period and had initiated the reforms mentioned earlier, resigned and the Soviet Union formally ceased to exist. In place of the Soviet Union which had been a major influence on world historical development for about seven decades, there emerged 15 independent republics. Though the rule of the communist parties has ended in all these republics, many of them are faced with serious political and economic problems. There are also many problems between the republics although 12 of them have formed a loose federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States. [These republics can be seen in the map of U.S.S.R. given in Chapter 11 of this book. However, the names of republics have changed. The new names are Russian Federation (formerly RSFSR), Kazakhastan (formally Kazakh SSR), Estonia (formerly Estonian SSR), Latvia (formerly Latvian SSR), Lithuania (formerly Lithuanian SSR), Ukraine (formerly Ukrainian SSR), Moldova (formerly Moldavian SSR), Armenia (formerly Armenian SSR), Georgia (formerly Georgian SSR), Azerbaijan (formerly Azerbaijan SSR), Turkmenistan (formerly Turkmen SSR), Uzbekistan (formerly Uzbek SSR), Tajikistan (formerly Tajik SSR), Belarus (formerly Byelorussian SSR) and Kyrgystan (formerly Krighiz SSR)]

Equally important changes have taken place in those countries of Europe which were ruled by communist parties There had been outbursts of resentment in some of these countries against Soviet control and against the Soviet supported communist governments since the 1950s. There were occasions when Soviet troops were used to suppress the unrest in these countries The changes in the Soviet Union affected these countries directly. There were mass upheavals in all these countries in the late 1980s. By 1989, Soviet control over them came to an end. The monopoly of political power enjoyed by the communist parties in these countries was ended. There were free elections and new governments were formed. It is notable that these far-reaching changes took place in most countries without the use of violence In some countries, leaders who had misused their position for personal gain and power were tried and jailed Many communist parties— no longer ruling parties in their countries —expelled some of their former leaders who had committed excesses when they were in power. In one country, Rumania, the Communist Party leader who for about 15 years had been the virtual dictator was executed. The Warsaw Pact, the military alliance which was headed by the Soviet Union and of which the communist-ruled states of Europe were members, was dis-

solved in 1991.

The changes which took place in Germany were even more far-reaching. The division of Germany into two independent states a few years after the end of the Second World War has been mentioned in this chapter. The division of Germany had been a source of tension in Europe and a major factor in the Cold War. East Berlin was the capital of East Germany (German Democratic Republic or GDR) while West Berlin which was located within the GDR territory was treated as a part of West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany or FRG) In 1961, the GDR authorities built a wall between East and West Berlin to prevent East Germans from going away to West Berlin The building of the wall became a further source of tension in Europe The process of ending communist rule in GDR and of the reunification of Germany began in 1989 when the Berlin Wall was opened and political parties which were outside the control of the communist party (called the Socialist Unity Party) were allowed to function. In early 1990 elections were held and a new government came to power. On 3 October 1990, the division of Germany was ended and a unified Germany again emerged.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and of communist governments in Europe has been a major factor in ending the Cold War. It has also been seen as marking the retreat of socialism It can, however, be said that the system which was built in these countries was only a distorted version of the socialist ideal and that social justice which was fundamental to that ideal has become a part of the consciousness of the people the world over.

The changes in Eastern and Central Europe, as in the former Soviet Union, have not been without problems, both economic and political. Czechoslovakia which had emerged as a new state after the First World War has broken up into two independent states – the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. In unified Germany, there have been many instances of violence by neo-Nazis against immigrants.

Developments of a tragic nature have taken place in Yugoslavia in recent years. Yugoslavia which had emerged as a state after the First World War was ruled by a communist party since the end of the Second World War. The communist government of Yugoslavia had kept itself free from the Soviet Union almost from the beginning. Yugoslavia was one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. She was a federation of six republics In four of these republics, the rule of the communist parties came to an end in 1990. By 1992, Yugoslavia broke up into five independent states—the new state of Yugoslavia comprising Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina However, the problems of Yugoslavia did not end with its break-up. A large party of Bosnia-Herzegovina is under the control of Serbians and Croats A bloody war has been going on between Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, particularly between the latter two, causing terrible sufferings to the people.

While these developments have taken place in one part of Europe, in another, Western, part (including Germany), there had been a move towards European unity It consists in creating a Europe without borders, with a common currency and unrestricted movement of goods and people and ultimately a political union with a common parliament. Some steps have

already been taken in this direction It may, however, be remembered that the concept of European unity at present excludes all East European countries and some others.

Significant changes have also taken place in other parts of the world There were many turmoils in the political and economic life of China after the establishment of communist rule there. After the death of Mao Zedong in 1975, many changes have taken place in the economic policies of the country. These are aimed at modernizing the economy For this, foreign companies and foreign capital have been invited and are playing an important role Many practices which were at one time considered basic to the concept of socialism have been given up There have also been changes in China's foreign policy. There has been an improvement in China's relations with India In the political life of China, however, there has been little change and it continues to be under the exclusive control of the Communist Party. The demand for democracy voiced by students and others some years ago was suppressed

In spite of the many positive changes that have taken place in recent years, the world in the 1990s is not without tensions and conflicts. While the danger of war involving the use of nuclear weapons has ended, or at least receded, there has been no reduction in the arsenals of weapons of mass annihilation Their very existence is a source of threat to the survival of humankind. Similarly, with the end of the Cold War, whether the world has moved, irreversibly, to a period of detente and, much more importantly, cooperation is still to be seen. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States became the only super power in the world. While the Warsaw Pact has been dissolved, NATO, the military bloc headed by the United States, has continued to exist. There have been misgivings that the present situation would make it possible for the United States, the only super power now, to dictate to others.

The world in the 1990s, with all its problems, is a very different place to live in compared with any preceding age People the world over have a much greater say in shaping their destiny than ever before. For the first time in human history, the creation of One World has become a possibility in which all peoples would cooperate with one another and would contribute their best to enrich their own lives and of the entire humankind

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1 What were the immediate consequences of the Second World War in Europe ? How was the political map of Europe after the war different from the pre-war days ?
2 What is meant by Cold War ? What were the factors which gave rise to it ?
3 Trace the history of the freedom movements in Asian countries.
4 What were the main aims of the foreign policy of the United States ? What was the reason for the military intervention of the United States in Vietnam ? What were its consequences ?
5 What was the impact of the Portuguese revolution of 1974 on the Portuguese colonies in Africa ?

6 What are the countries in Africa in which the struggle for liberation is still going on ?
7. What is meant by non-alignment ? Why did most of the newly independent countries follow this policy ?
8. Trace the history of the freedom movements in Africa
9 Describe the changes which have taken place in South Africa after 1989
10. Trace the developments that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union.
11 Describe the main changes which have occurred in Germany and the countries of Southern Europe since 1989

Things to Do

1 On an outline map of Europe, show the countries which came to have communist governments after the Second World War
2 Collect information on the African countries which gained their independence after 1960. Show these countries on a map
3 Try to get a copy of the declaration issued by the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement held at Jakarta in 1992 Display it in the classroom
4 Prepare a list of countries where summits of the Non-Aligned Movement have been held as well as a list of participating countries
5 Collect information about developments which have taken place in South Africa after 1993 and prepare a report
6. Collect information about the situation in Yugoslavia and the steps taken to implement the agreement between Israel and PLO since 1993.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1 Discuss the factors which led to the weakening of imperialism after the Second World War
2 Do you think the Cold War has finally ended ?
3. Some countries of Asia had become members of military alliances. Do you think it helped in strengthening their independence ? Why ? Or why not ? Give arguments with examples
4. Discuss the impact of the emergence of Asian and African countries as independent nations on the world.
5 What, in your view, led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the communist governments there and in other countries of Europe ? Do you think this collapse means that ideas of socialism are no longer relevant ? Discuss.
6 Do you think the post - Cold War world is a safer place to live in and there is no danger of any country dominating over other countries ?

CHAPTER 14

The Heritage of India

THE heritage of India is the result of developments in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the Indian people over a period of thousands of years. You have already read briefly about these developments In this chapter, you will read about some aspects and features of these developments which are important for an understanding of India's heritage

The Land and the People

Two basic components of this heritage, which have at the same time shaped this heritage, are the land, the natural and physical environment of India, and the people who have inhabited this land The generations of people who have inhabited India during various periods of her history have interacted with their physical and natural environment. They have also interacted among themselves Through these processes of interaction—between people and their natural and physical environment and among themselves—the people have created their history, their social, economic, cultural and political life. These processes of interaction have been going on for thousands of years, bringing in changes in the life of the people The world of man, therefore, has never been stationary

India is a vast country. It extends for nearly 3000 kilometres from Kashmir in the north to Kanyakumari in the south and for the same distance from its western-most parts to its eastern-most parts Nature has made it into a distinct geographical entity The Himalayan ranges in the north and the sea in the east; west and south separate it from the rest of the world The people inhabiting the country from very early times as well as people of other parts of the world have viewed it as a single integral and distinctive unit

These geographical features, however, while making her a well-defined unit separated from the rest of the world, have not become a barrier to contacts with the rest of the world Since the time of the Old Stone Age, people from neighbouring as well as distant regions have been coming into India through the mountain passes and the seas and making India their home The people of India have been formed as a result of these migrations over thousands of years. They are the descendants of groups of people belonging to almost all the 'racial stocks' of mankind and their admixtures who made India their home The main 'racial types' which have gone into the making of the Indian population are the Proto-Australoids, the Palaeo-Mediterraneans, the Caucasoids, the Negroids and the Mongoloids in their varying degrees of mixtures In historical times, the ethnic groups which have come to India and made India their home include the

Indo-European speaking people (the Indo-Aryans), the Persians, the Greeks, the Kushanas, the Shakas, the Hunas, the Arabs, the Turks, the Africans and the Mongols. During the past few hundred years, many Europeans have also made India their home All these 'racial' and ethnic groups have intermingled with one another and few of them can be recognized in their original form. Thus, India has been a crucible of various 'races' and ethnic groups. They have all contributed to the making of Indian history and culture

The migration of people into India has been a major factor in the development of various aspects of India's life and culture since pre-historic times In historical times, the importance of this factor is conspicuous in almost every period of India's history. The people from other cultures and civilizations have brought with them their own traditions which got intermixed and integrated with the pre-existing traditions Similarly, people of India have gone to other parts of the world and various elements of culture carried by them have intermixed and have been integrated with the pre-existing cultures there. During the past 2000 years, the influence of various elements of Indian culture has been particularly evident in many countries of Asia

The vastness of the country and the great variations in its geographical features —land forms, natural resources, climate and others —have provided the bases for a great variety in ways of living from very early times The mountains and the river systems have been an important factor in the emergence of a number of distinct cultural zones within the country. The Vindhya ranges, for example, divided India into north and south with the people of the Indo-European family of languages predominating in the northern, and those of the Dravidian family of languages in the southern parts of the country These factors, however, have not made any part of the country isolated from the other parts. The physical barriers between different parts were not insurmountable even in early times when means of travel were not developed They did not prevent the movement of the people from one part of the country to another. Despite the Vindhya ranges, for example, the movement of people from the north to the south and vice versa has been going on from very early times. Thus while geographical factors have deeply influenced the emergence of distinctive ways of living of people in different parts of the country, the interaction between them has been going on The availability of different natural resources in the country has also furthered links between its diverse parts. These factors have helped the processes of both unity and diversity The historical development of the country has brought the people together and has led to the growth of a common culture to which all parts of the country have contributed. At the same time, each part of the country has developed its own distinct identity. Because of this, the historical and cultural development of India is often described as one of unity in diversity and the culture of the country as a whole a composite one comprising distinct parts It has never been a monolith

As mentioned above, people of all parts of the country have contributed to the emergence of a common culture. No particular part of region of the country has been the main centre or source of Indian culture, and different regions during different periods have played a leading role —setting new trends and influencing

developments in other parts of the country This has been true as much of political history as of other aspects of historical development. The first major political power arose in northern India with its centre in the region around modern Patna In the subsequent centuries, powerful kingdom and empires were built in north-western India, the Deccan and the south The Turkish Sultans and the Mughal emperors ruled over large parts of India with their centre at Delhi and, for some time, at Agra. In the eighteenth century, the Marathas, after setting up their kingdom in western India, built a vast all-India empire In this context, it is important to remember the concept of the *chakravartin* ruler which was developed in India in ancient times. This ideal envisaged political unification of the entire country

Another feature of India's culture has been that it did not develop into a finished form in any period. Throughout her long history, India's culture has been changing and developing due to internal factors and contacts with other cultures. This process of change and development continues. The culture of India, as of any other country, is not a fixed entity. Many aspects of culture, if they retard further progress, get discarded, others are changed, sometimes beyond recognition; some others continue to survive and remain important, while many new elements are added

A remarkable feature of Indian historical and cultural development has been its continuity. This continuity has few parallels in the history of other civilizations. For example, the cultures of some of the earliest civilizations in human history left little evidence of their influence over subsequent cultural developments of the countries in which they had developed In India, on the other hand, some elements of the Harappan culture continue to exist to this day

It is interesting to know the story of the name of our country. The ancient Indians referred to their country as 'Jambudvipa' or the continent of the Jambu tree The ancient Persians referred to our country as the land beyond the river *Sindhu (Indus)*. They, however, pronounced it as 'Hindu' The word spread westward and the whole country came to be known by the name of its river. The Greeks called it 'Inde' and the Arabs 'Hind'. In medieval times, the country was called 'Hindustan' from the Persian word. The English called it 'India' from the Greek 'Inde' The present name 'Bharat', derived from the ancient usage, means 'the land of the Bharatas', an ancient Indian tribe.

Before studying the development of a few selected aspects of India's culture, it may be worthwhile to recapitulate broad features of Indian historical development

The Ancient Period

You have read in an earlier chapter that India was one of the oldest centres of the prehistoric cultures of the world. India was also the cradle of one of the earliest civilizations in history — the Harappan culture The Harappan culture was the first urban culture to emerge in India Many of its features distinguished it from all its contemporary cultures in other parts of the world, and made it distinctly Indian.

Larger in extent than any of its contemporary civilizations, it was spread over parts of Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, western Uttar pradesh and Gujarat and had links with some other parts of India as well as with contemporary civilizations in West Asia After its decline, India did not have cities for about a thousand years. However, all that this

civilization had built was not forgotten and many of its features became a part of the Indian culture in the subsequent years.

The next major phase in ancient Indian history is the Vedic age which began with the coming of the Indo-European speaking people (the Indo-Aryans) and ended in about seventh century B.C. Initially, this phase marked a reversal in some respects For example, it marked the end of city life, reversal to a pastoral economy and the predominance of a tribal system of political organization. However, with the knowledge and use of iron technology, it saw the beginning of the spread of agriculture throughout the country. It thus laid the foundations of a civilization in all parts of the country, whereas the Harappan culture had been confined to parts of north-western India. The culture that began to emerge during this phase was the result of the intermixing of the Indo-Aryans with the pre-existing inhabitants of India. It is interesting to remember that some elements of the culture of this period have survived over a period of 3000 years and continue to be a part of Indian culture today

The next phase, covering the period from about the sixth century B C to about 200 B.C , is marked by far-reaching changes in almost every aspect of life in India This period saw the spread of agriculture over large parts of the country, the rise of cities and the formation of states. The period also saw the rise and decline of the first all-India empire in Indian history. This period is important not only for political unity but also for cultural unity. Two major religions —Jainism and Buddhism —which arose in the sixth century B C. left a lasting influence on Indian life and culture These religions also influenced religious beliefs and practices which, grouped together, are known as Hinduism Hinduism as it developed, included many Vedic beliefs and practices but had many other features which distinguished it from the religion of the Vedas This period saw the spread throughout the country of beliefs and practices associated with Hinduism, including Vedic religion, as well as Buddhism and Jainism. Alongside these, a large number of other beliefs and practices also continued. The Varna system, the system of social organization popularly known as the caste system, which had arisen in the Vedic Age now became well-established and gradually became the dominant form of social organization throughout the country This form of social organization was peculiar to India The rise of cities, crafts and trade also furthered the process of cultural unity. This process is best exemplified by Ashoka He unified almost the entire country under one empire but renounced the use of war as state policy Instead he declared the victory of righteousness as the real victory. In him we also find a change in the ideal of kingship Ashoka, in one of his edicts, said, "Whatever exertions I make, I strive only to discharge the debt that I owe to all living creatures". Most of his inscriptions spread over different parts of the country are in Prakrit, which seems to have become the *lingua franca* of the country, and in Brahmi script, the earliest known Indian script, and mother of most Indian scripts. However, in areas where the language and script were different, the Ashokan edicts were inscribed in the local language and the local script Though he himself became a Buddhist, Ashoka made no effort to impose it on others In one of his edicts, he said, "One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it

over all other religions, does injure one's own religion most certainly".

The next phase in ancient Indian history covers the period from about 200 B C. to about A.D. 300. This phase is extremely important for the changes that took place in economic and political life, and significant developments in various aspects of culture, including religon, art and science and technology. In economic life, this period is significant for advancement in India's international trade, both by land and sea routes, and the emergence of crafts and towns, unknown to earlier phases of ancient Indian history. In political life, large parts of north-western, northern and western India were ruled by dynasties of non-Indian origin These were the Indo-Greeks, the Shakas, the Parthians and the Kushanas These political contacts facilitated developments in the economy mentioned above and brought India into close contact with the cultures of Central and West Asia and with the Graeco-Roman world This interaction played an important role in the flowering of Indian culture during this phase Most of the foreign rulers of Indian territories adopted one or the other Indian religion A significant event was the growth of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism, which the Kushana ruler Kanishka patronized, and the development of the great Buddhist art associated with it. In the Deccan and the south, a number of states emerged, including the powerful kingdom of the Satavahanas. These states also developed close trade relations with other parts of the world. There was significant progress of Buddhist art in the Deccan, and the beginning of Tamil literature in the south. India's first contact with Christianity is believed to have taken place during this period, though it was many centuries later that Christianity came to have a significant following in India

The last phase of the ancient period of Indian history starts in early fourth century A.D and ends in about the eighth century The Guptas built a large kingdom during this period which remained powerful for about a century. In the Deccan and the south, there were two major kingdoms during this period —of the Pallavas and of the Chalukyas. In some respects, this was also a period of reversals, which witnessed a gradual decline of towns and trade, of strong centralized states, and the beginning of the system of land grants. These developments, according to some scholars, mark the beginning of feudalism in India Some of the finest achievements in various fields of culture —art, architecture, literature, philosophy, science, technology —can, however, be dated to this period. Because of these achievements, this period is often described as the classical age of Indian civilization In religion, this is a period of decline of Buddhism and the rise of Brahmanical religion or Hinduism as we know it today. Idol worship became popular and building of temples on a large scale started in the south and the Deccan as well as in the north. Art inspired by Buddhism also continued, particularly in sculpture and painting. Great progress was made in literature, both religious and secular, in Sanskrit which also became the language of the courts in most parts of the country Tamil literature also made great progress and the Alvars and Nayanars, the Vaishnavite and Shaivite saints, made lasting contributions to it In spite of the dominant position of Sanskrit in most parts of the country, this period marks the beginning of many modern Indian languages as well as distinct scripts in different parts of

the country. The period is also important for some of the most significant advances in science and technology Most of the major works in astronomy, mathematics and medicine belong to this period.

By the time the ancient period of Indian history came to a close, India had developed a culture which was marked by features that have characterized it ever since.

The Medieval Period

During the medieval period, some of the achievements of the ancient times were carried forward and new and magnificent structures were built on those foundations. Many new elements appeared in Indian society which influenced the growth of various aspects of culture.

The period from the eighth to the twelfth century in political life is dominated mainly by the presence of a large number of states. The bigger ones among them tried to establish their supremacy in northern India and the Deccan The main contenders in this struggle for supremacy were the Pratiharas, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas In the south, the most powerful kingdom to emerge during this period was that of the Cholas The Cholas brought about the political unification of large parts of the country but the general political picture was that of fragmentation, particularly in northern India. The process of decline in trade and of urban centres had continued In social life, there was greater rigidification of the caste system than before. In some respects, the period was characterized by stagnation and insularity. Seen as a whole, however, the situation was not so dismal. Some of the most splendid temples in India were built, in a variety of regional styles, during this period, both in the north and the south. The period is also important for the growth of modern Indian languages Architecture, sculpture, literature, and philosophy flourished under the patronage of the Chola kings Trade and cultural contacts with the countries of South-East Asia received an impetus in the Chola kingdom. New trends towards cultural unity also emerged during this period. One of these trends is associated with the name of the philosopher Shankaracharya who set up his *maths* or monasteries in different parts of the country. The other was the beginning of the Bhakti cult throughout the country It had originated with the Alvars and Nayanars, the Vaishnavite and Shaivite saints, in southern India In the following centuries, this cult became a major feature of the religious life of the people in most parts of the country.

It was in this period that India's contact with the new religion of Islam began The contacts began late in the seventh century through the Arab traders. Later, in early eighth century, the Arabs conquered Sind In the tenth century, the Turks emerged as a powerful force in Central and West Asia and carved out kingdoms for themselves They conquered Persia but, in turn, their life was deeply influenced by the old and rich Persian culture The Turks first invaded India during the late tenth and early eleventh century and Punjab came under Turkish rule. Another series of Turkish invasions in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century led to the establishment of the Sultanat of Delhi Within a few centuries after the rise of Islam in Arabia, it became the second most popular religion in India with followers in every part of the country.

The establishment of the Sultanat of Delhi marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of medieval India Politically,

it led to the unification of northern India and parts of the Deccan for almost a century. Its rulers, almost from the time of the establishment of the Sultanat, succeeded in separating it from the country from which they had originally come The Sultanat disintegrated towards the end of the fourteenth century leading to the emergence of a number of kingdoms in different parts of the country. Some of these, for example, the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms, became very powerful. In society, the period is important for the introduction of new elements—the Turks, the Persians, the Mongols and the Afghans, besides the Arabs who had settled sown in some coastal regions—into India There were important changes in economic life also. Trade and crafts received a stimulus and many new towns arose as centres of administration, trade and crafts New elements of technology were also introduced during this period.

Culturally, this period marks the beginning of a new stage in the growth of India's composite culture. It saw the introduction of new features in art and architecture of India and their diffusion to all parts of the country. The architecture that developed during this period was the result of the synthesis of the traditions of Central Asia and Persia with the pre-existing Indian styles During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, distinctive styles of art and architecture also developed in the regional kingdoms, which had emerged with the disintegration of the Sultanat. During this time notable advances were made in the development of languages and literature Modern Indian languages, which had started developing earlier, became major vehicles of literature. These languages were enriched by the Bhakti saints and this gave the literature of these languages many common features Two new languages—Arabic and Persian became a part of India's linguistic heritage. Of these, Arabic was mainly the language of Islamic learning. For literature and in its widespread use, Persian was more important In many areas, it replaced Sanskrit as the court language and throughout the country, along with Sanskrit, it became the language of learning. Historical writings for the first time became an important component of Indian literature Under the influence of Persian, new forms of literature such as the *ghazal* were introduced.

The period saw two great religious movements, besides the spread of a new religion. The Bhakti movement which had started many centuries earlier, spread throughout the country Significantly, the Bhakti movement, best represented by Kabir and Nanak, disapproved of religious narrow-mindedness, superstitions and observance of formal rituals. The Bhakti saints condemned caste inequalities and laid stress on human brotherhood. The other was the Sufi movement The Sufis, or the Muslim mystics, preached the message of love and human brotherhood. These two movements played a leading role in combating religious exclusiveness and narrow-mindedness and in bringing the people of all communities together. Sikhism began to emerge as a new religion based on the teachings of Guru Nanak and other saints.

The growth of a composite culture reached its highest point under the Great Mughals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries The Mughals built an empire which once again brought about the political unification of a large part of the country.

Like Ashoka earlier, Akbar, the greatest of the Mughal emperors, followed a policy of *Sulh-kul* ('peace with all'). He said, "The various religious communities are Divine treasures entrused to us by God We must love them as such. It should be our firm faith that every religion is blessed by Him, and our earnest endeavour to enjoy the bliss of the evergreen garden of universal toleration The Eternal King showers his favours on all men without distinction. Kings who are 'shadows of God' should never give up this principle" Some of the finest specimens of Indian architecture and literature belong to this period A new significant art form was painting which flourished under the partonage of the Mughal court. Influenced by the Persian traditions, the Mughal painting developed into a distinct Indian style It later spread to other parts of the country in various regional styles. Another significant development was the emergence of a new language –Urdu–which became the *lingua franca* of the people of the towns in many parts of the country

The Modern Period

The eighteenth century marks the beginning of the modern period of India's history Politically, the period saw the decline of the Mughal empire and the rise of a number of small and big independent states in different parts of the country None of these states was able to replace the Mughal empire which had politically unified a large part of the country for about 150 years. In spite of this, however, the process of the growth of a composite culture continued This is evident from the new schools of painting which arose as a result of the influence of the Mughal painting, literature in various Indian languages, including Urdu, and the continuing process of the coming together of people belonging to different communities.

This period, when looked at in the context of changes taking place in some other parts of the world, is one of stagnation. You have read before about some of the developments that had been bringing about far-reaching changes in the social, economic, cultural and political life of Europe. Significant advancements had taken place in the field of science, and soon new technologies were to further transform the social, economic and political life in many countries of Europe. The process of colonization of vast areas of the world by a few European countries had been under way since the sixteenth century Changes of a comparable nature failed to take place in India, as also in other countries of Asia and Africa There was also no awareness of the importance of the changes taking place in Europe in spite of contacts with European traders, missionaries and others From about the middle of the eighteenth century, the conquest of India by Britain began. It was completed in a few decades and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the entire country was under the direct or indirect rule of the British. For the first time in her history, India came under foreign rule. She was ruled by foreigners who had not come to settle but to rule in the interest of their mother country A new system of exploitation of one country by the dominant classes and groups of another country came into being. Under the new conditions created by foreign rule, the people of India were awakened and this awakening expressed itself, finally, in the struggle for independence, the end of imperialist exploitation of India and the building of a new India. From the early decades of the nineteenth

century, various social, religious, cultural and intellectual movements took root which aimed at removing the state of stagnation of Indian society. These movements were influenced by the modern democratic, humanistic and scientific thought and played an important role in promoting national consciousness and in laying the foundations of a new phase in India's cultural development. The nationalist movement united the Indian people on a new basis It recognized and cherished the unity in diversity and the composite nature of India's culture as its unique feature. The nurturing of this feature was an integral part of the nationalist movement's objective of building an independent, united and forward-looking India You will read about some aspects of the developments that took place in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Chapters 15 and 16

The historical background discussed in this section provided the broad context for studying the development of a few aspects of culture which are described in the following sections

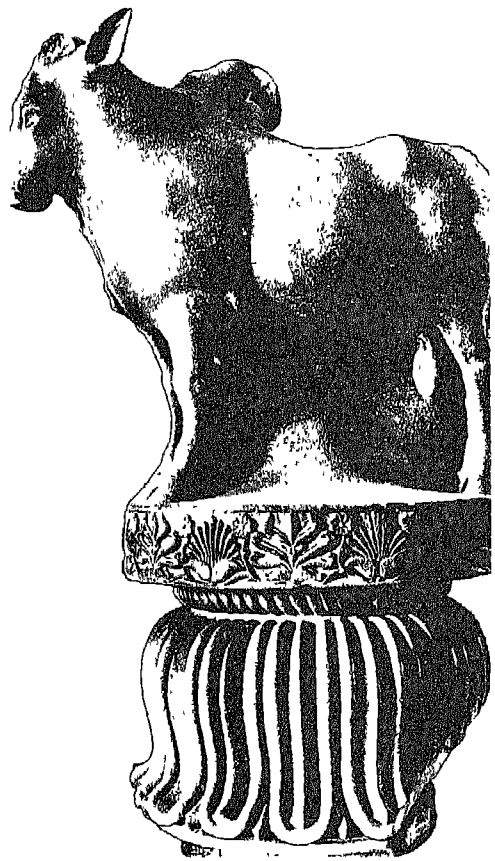
ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The story of Indian art begins with Harappan culture You have seen that the Harappans were great builders, skilled in town planning The houses with the various facilities, the granaries, the Great Bath, show how skilful and efficient the people were in construction. The terracotta and stone images, the bronze figure of the dancing girl and the artistic seals reveal the exquisite workmanship of the artists

Mauryan Period

The next stage of Indian art begins with the Mauryan period It was a period of economic prosperity, important development in religious thinking and practice and also one of remarkable artistic achievements. Megasthenes, who came to India as the ambassador of the Greek ruler Seleucus, described the palace of Chandragupta Maurya in glowing terms It was large and luxurious and built of carved wood The earliest stone buildings were based on wooden models

The monolithic pillars of Ashoka on which are inscribed his famous edicts are

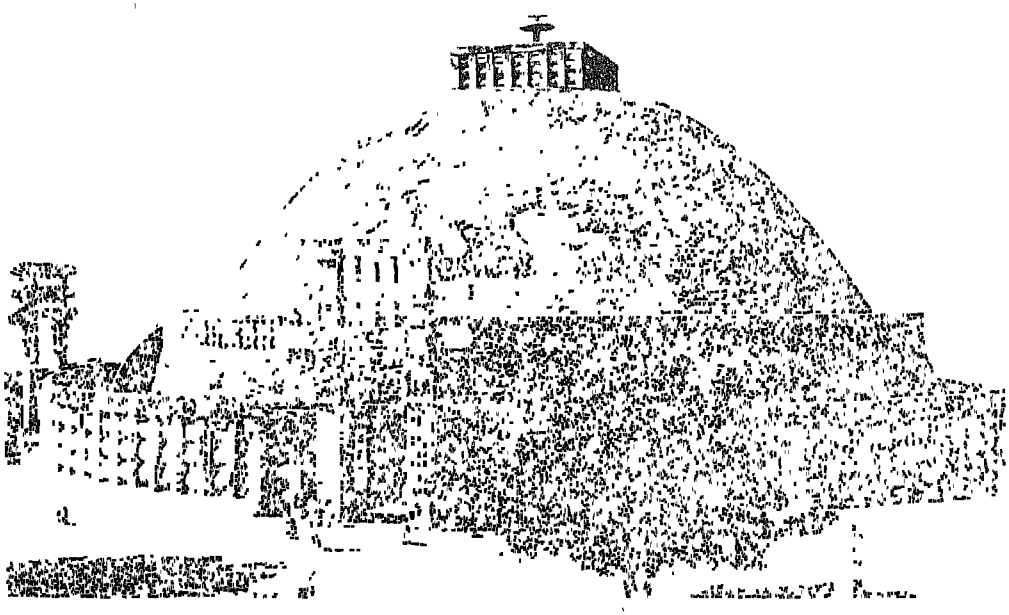


Rampurva Bull Capital

the great monuments of the Mauryan age Some scholars trace these pillars to the influence of Persia. The most striking feature of these pillars is the finely carved capital with magnificent animal figures We are all familiar with Sarnath lion capital which forms part of India's National Emblem The Rampurva Bull capital is one of the best specimens of animal sculpture The polish and smoothness of these pillars are amazing.

Another artistic achievement of this period is the famous stupa at Sanchi. In every stupa there was a small chamber in which a casket with relics of the Buddha or the Buddhist monks were placed The surface of the stupa was generally built of bricks with a thick layer of plaster. The stupa was crowned by an umbrella of stone The monument was surrounded by a fence with a path provided for *Pradakshina* (circumambulation) The original stupas were enlarged and beautified from time to time The Sanchi stupa which still stands intact is a well-preserved and splendid monument A number of lesser stupas and other buildings such as monasteries and rest-houses are found in and around the main stupa

The stupa at Sanchi as it stands today has stone railings and gateways around it. These were added later after the Mauryas. The gateways are a very striking feature There are four gateways at the four cardinal points and they contain very lively and beautifully carved panels In these panels are depicted events from the life of the Buddha and details from the *Jataka* stories. They also depict a landscape of trees and floral designs, groups of animals and birds, beautiful figures of *yakshas* and *yakshinis*, and men and women. Thus the Sanchi reliefs present the story of the Buddha and provide glimpses into Indian life through



Sanchi Stupa

clear, simple and dramatic scenes.

The Buddha is depicted in these panels not through his image but through the use of various symbols; for example, the horse represents his 'renunciation', the 'boddhi' tree his enlightenment

Gandhara and Mathura Schools of Art

The next important stage in the growth of art is associated with the name of Gandhara in the north-west. By this time the worship of the image of Buddha had become common. After the Greek invasions and during the period of the Kushanas, many artists from West Asia had settled down in the north-west of India. They were deeply influenced by the Graeco-Roman art. Mahayana Buddhism encouraged image worship. The Kushana kings, particularly Kanishka, encouraged the Gandhara artists to sculpture the scenes from Buddha's life and the *Jatakas*. The distinctive school of art which grew here is called the Gandhara school of art. A large number of the images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were produced

Another school of art to develop in the early centuries of the Christian era is that of Mathura. From the beginning of the Christian era, Mathura became an important centre of artistic activities and the figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were produced there. The fine qualities of indigenous art traditions were preserved and improved upon by the Mathura sculptors. The images produced here became the models for the succeeding generations of artists.

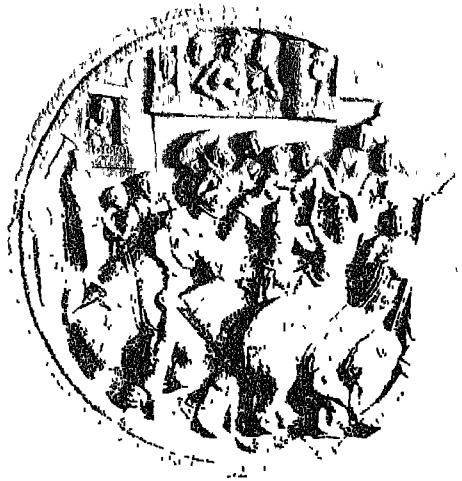
This was also the period of the growth of art in Amaravati, developed under the Satavahana kings Like the stupa at Sanchi, there was a great stupa in Amaravati in the lower Godavari valley. The stupa has disappeared but many of its fine pieces are still intact in various museums Many bas-relief medallions and panelled friezes decorated the stupa. These, like the stupa at Sanchi, depict events from the life of the Buddha and the *Jataka* stories One of these depicts the story of the taming of the elephant by the Buddha. A rogue-elephant was let loose to kill the Buddha while he was walking along the streets of Rajagriha. The panel shows the elephant rushing

Boddhisattva, Gandhara

through the streets, the panic it caused, the reactions of men and women and finally the elephant kneeling before the Buddha. The climax is portrayed subtly and the magic of the story is brought out by a single panel.

There are a number of other places in this region where Buddhist remains have been discovered The excavations at Nagarjuna-konda before that site was submerged in the waters of the Nagarjunasagar dam have added to the treasures of the Buddhist art.

The Gupta period saw the flowering of ancient Indian culture. One of the significant developments was the beginning of the Hindu temple An example of this is the



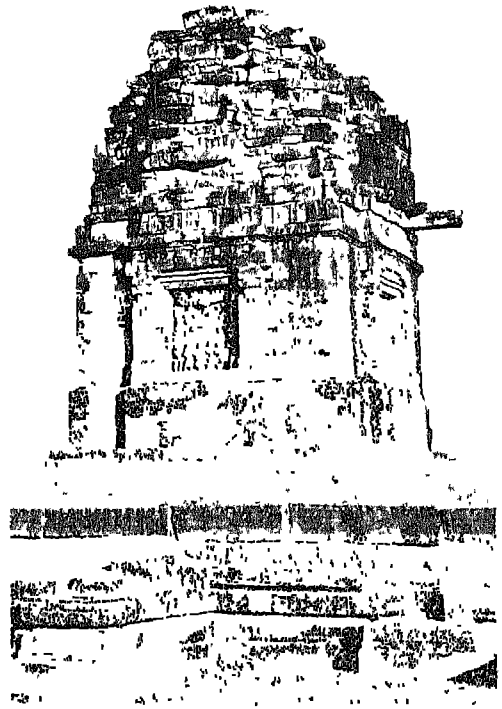
Amaravati medallion depicting the taming of the elephant by the Buddha

temple at Deogarh which was a small shrine-room where the image of the god was placed The *varahavatar* depicted in the Udaygiri cave is a very impressive one. The simple and lovely Buddha images from Sarnath are an evidence of the skill of the sculptors of the Gupta period. Some of the caves of Ajanta and Ellora also belong to this period

The Hindu temple which began in this period had a simple square as its ground-plan

Cave Architecture

The development of the cave architecture is an important phase in the history of Indian architecture. More than a thousand caves from about the second century B.C. to tenth century A D. were excavated in different parts of India. Most of them are Buddhist; some are Hindu and Jain Beautiful *chaityas* (worshipping halls), *viharas* (monasteries), *mandapas, rathas* and cave temples have been cut out of rocks The stability and permanence of the rock attracted the patrons to encourage the building of enduring monuments and dedicate them for religious purposes The rocks were turned into lovely shrines with pillared halls and living-rooms decorated with sculpture. This is an amazing evidence of

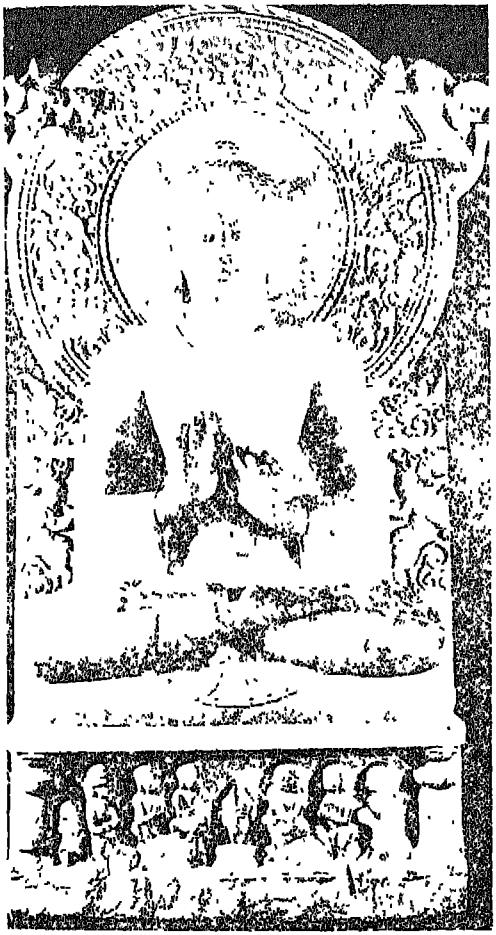


Gupta Temple, Deogarh

the extraordinary skill and patience of the craftsmen and mastery that they acquired over the hard rock.

The earliest rock-cut temples were excavated in western Deccan in the early years of the Christian era The first monument of this period is the Chaitya at Karle. It has a fine hall with highly polished and decorated pillars and a vaulted roof

The second phase of rock architecture produced some exquisite creations. The growing popularity of image worship in



Budha Preaching, Sarnath

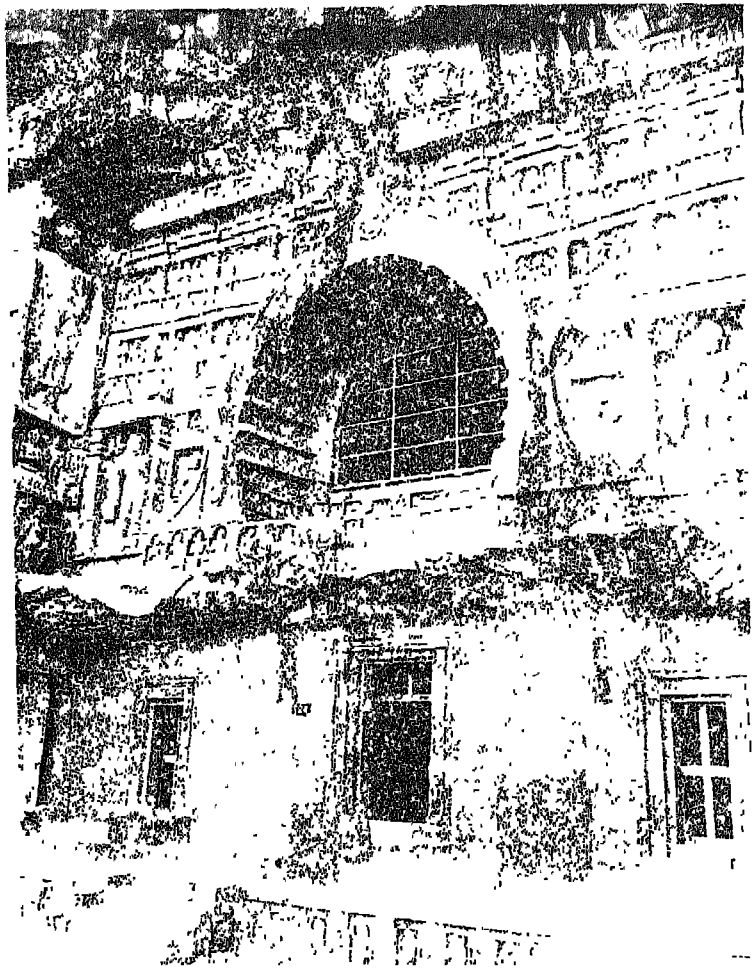
Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism stimulated building activities. The cave temples of Ajanta, Elephanta, Ellora, the *mandapas*, the *rathas* of Mahabalipuram, and the Kailasa temple at Ellora are some of the great achievements of this period. The size of these monuments, the infinite variety of themes from Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, the colossal images of the Buddha, the magnificent panels depicting all aspects of life — these strike us when we visit the caves of Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta Some of the excellent sculptures in these caves were executed under the patronage of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas.

In the Elephanta caves we see the magnificent 'trimurti'. The very idea of a colossal image of three aspects of the godhead is grand. The excellence of the details is revealed if we study each of the faces carefully.

There are 27 caves in Ajanta They contain the finest paintings of the ancient times in India. Some of the caves contain extraordinarily beautiful images of the Buddha, scenes from his life and from the *Jataka* stories

At Ellora there are about 35 caves with fine sculptures. Some of the dramatic events from Hindu mythology captured the attention of the sculptors who have immortalized them. The greatest work here, the Kailasa temple, is a contribution of the Rashtrakutas. This temple, which has been hewn out of a massive rock, is an example of the daring resourcefulness and love of beauty of the sculptors of the time. The temple is elaborately adorned with figures and decorations. In all its details it is like a structural temple, but it is a gem of rock-cut architecture.

The artistic progress of the Gupta age continued for centuries and spread widely The Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the



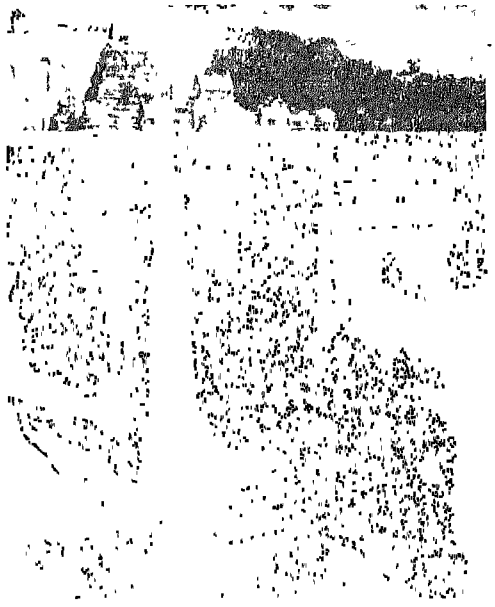
Facade of an Ajanta Cave

Pallavas of the Deccan and southern India added magnificent monuments, both caves and structural temples.

Both the rock-cut and structural monuments of the Pallavas are magnificent specimens of architecture. The Mandapas at Mahabalipuram are excavated halls with finely carved pillars and panels.

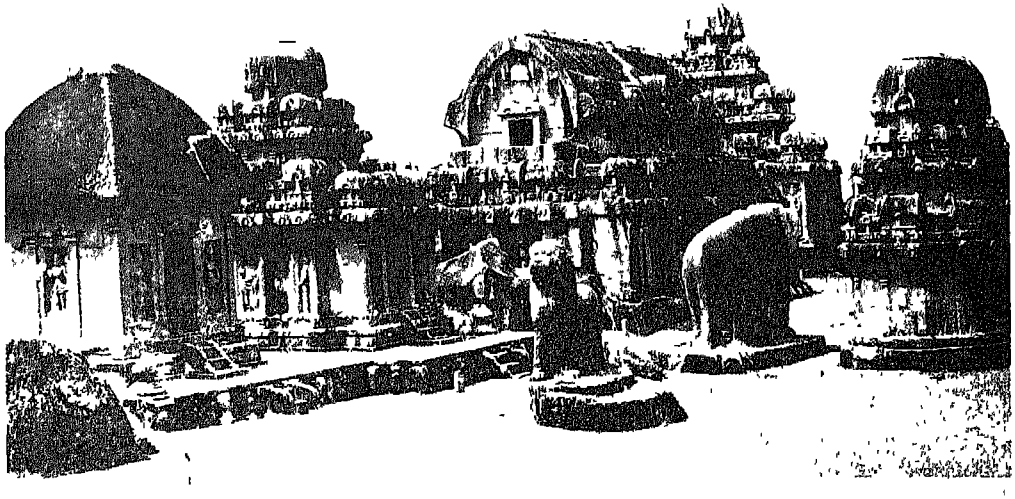
The splendid panel called the 'Descent of the Ganga' in Mahabalipuram is a unique rock-cut sculpture. The story of Bhagiratha's penance to bring down the Ganga is the theme of the panel

The Rathas of Mahabalipuram are well known. The 'Ratha' is a shrine carved out of a single rock and it looks like a structural temple. These Rathas are named after the Pandavas When you look at these Rathas,



Kailasa Temple, Ellora

Descent of the Ganga, Mahabalipuram



The Rathas, Mahabalipuram

you find that each one of them is different in shape and size.

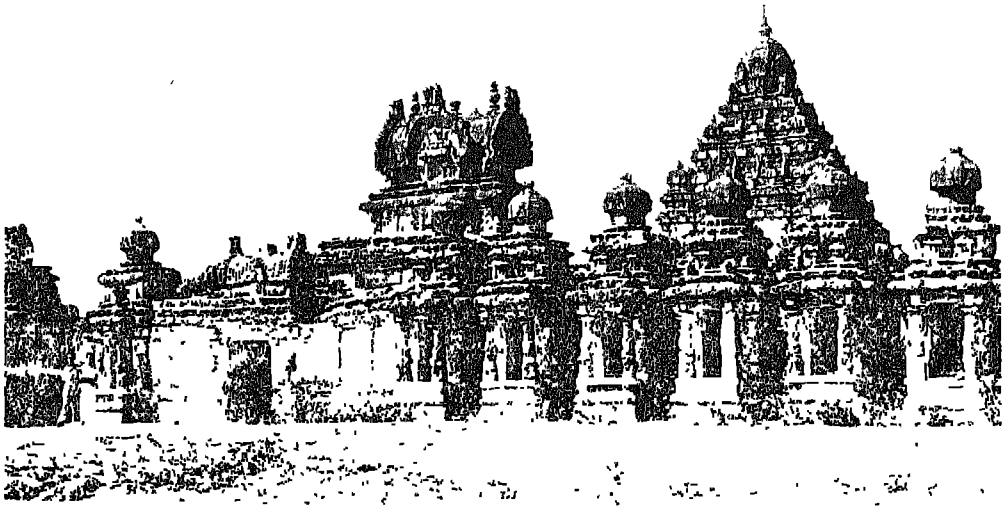
The Structural Temples

The Pallavas built a number of structural temples also. The most famous of these is the 'Shore temple' at Mahabalipuram. It is located on the sea shore and hence it has been called the 'Shore temple'. The twin towers of this temple set in a picturesque background, make it an enchanting sight on a moonlit night. Kanchipuram was the capital of the Pallavas and numerous temples were built there. Two of them stand out prominently The Kailasanatha temple with its lovely *vimana* and the numerous panels depicting Shiva as Nataraja is a fine specimen of Pallava art The Vaikunthaperumal temple is noted for its *vimana* and the series of panels depicting the history of the Pallava dynasty

The Cholas with their capital at Thanjavur were great builders The greatest temple of India, the Brihadeeshwara temple at Thanjavur, was built during the reign of Rajaraja Chola. The most striking feature of this temple is its *vimana. It* is about 65 metres high and is built in such a way that its shadow does not fall on the ground. The grace and grandeur of the *vimana* have not been excelled by any other such creation The pillared halls and the sculptures are fine specimens of Chola art. In one of the halls, the various dance postures mentioned in Bharata's *Natyashastra* are shown in sculptures. In the walls of the inner shrine there are a number of fine paintings

Many other famous temples were built in the south. The Pandya rulers encouraged the building of high outer walls with entrance gateways topped by *gopurams* Attention was now concentrated on the *gopurams* rather than the *vimana* or the *shikhara* above the main shrine The artistic glory of the *gopuram* became so popular that it became a special characteristic of south Indian temples. The *gopurams* of Kanchi and Madurai temples can be seen from long distances.

The Hoysala rulers of Mysore were great patrons of art Magnificent temples were



Kailasanath Temple, Kanchipuram

built in Belur, Halebid and other places. These temples are noted for the profusion of manifold pillars with rich and intricate carvings The delicately carved friezes, the minute details of the panels depicting gods and goddesses, are like the work of the jeweller rather than of the sculptor

The Bronze Sculpture of the Cholas

Starting during the late Pallava period, the bronze sculpture reached heights of glory during the Chola rule The image of Nataraja (the Lord of Dance) is a superb masterpiece of the Chola bronze sculpture. The grandeur of its conception, its symbolism, its artistic excellence and its charm have impressed connoisseurs throughout the world. There are many images of Nataraja in different dance poses The bronze sculptures were one of the most significant contributions of the Cholas to Indian art

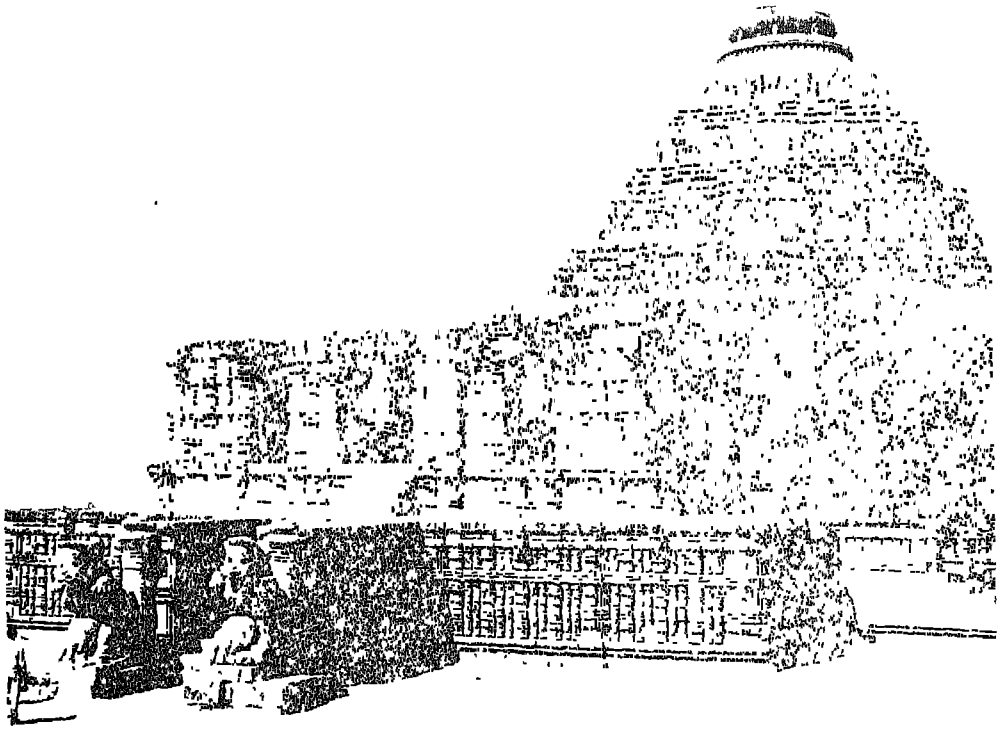
North Indian Temples

As in southern India, several styles of temple architecture developed in northern India.

Some of the most magnificent temples were built in Orissa The Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneswar is located in an extensive area, with a number of subsidiary shrines The spire of the Lingaraja temple is about 40 metres high and is very impressive The immense spire is curved and has a rounded top. Though there are many similarities between these and the temples in the south, the differences in style are striking

The sun temple in Konarak, popularly

Bronze-Image of Nataraja



Sun Temple, Konarak

known as the 'black pagoda', perhaps because of the black stone used, is unique in design Since it is dedicated to the sun god, the whole temple is designed as a chariot with twelve massive wheels drawn by seven horses Each wheel with its rich carvings is a masterpiece The human and animal figures carved out in black stone are most lifelike. The poses of dancing *apsaras* depicted in sculptures are studied by dancers even today and are brought alive by them in their performances. The theme of several of these sculptures is amorous.

The Chandella rulers of central India built the great temples of Khajuraho. The *shikhara* of these temples is graceful and refined and is adorned-with sculptures. The style of the *shikhara* varies from that of the others The sculptures in Konarak and Khajuraho are some of the finest in India. They are full of life and vitality

The Jain temples at Mount Abu are the finest monuments of the Solanki kings of Gujarat who were great patrons of art. The prosperous trade brought in wealth that was used for building Hindu and Jain temples The Abu temples are very attractive because of the delicate and intricate carvings in white marble.

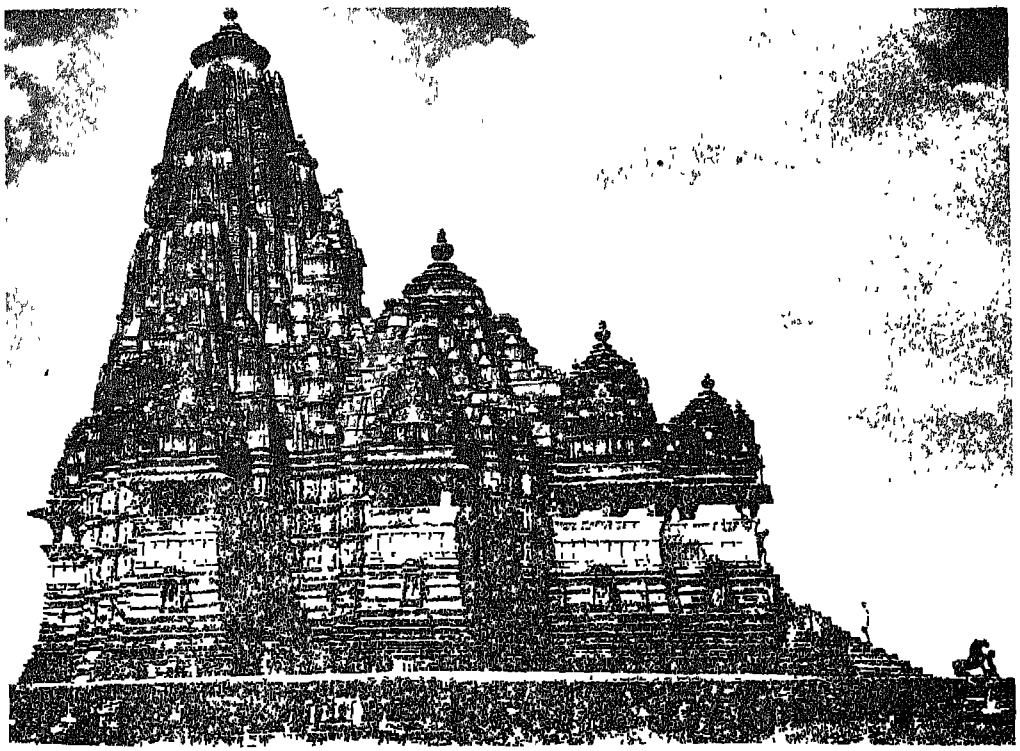
New Elements in Medieval Art and Architecture

The coming of the Turks inaugurated a new era in the history of Indian architecture, the turks brought with them architectural ideas

developed in Persia, Arabia and Central Asia When these new rulers started erecting religious and secular buildings such as palaces and mosques, they came into contact with the traditions that had already been developed in India The interaction of these two traditions resulted in a new synthesis of architectural styles The rulers of the Sultanat were great patrons of architecture and under them the process of synthesis started It continued with many regional variations in the different kingdoms. During the Mughal period, the flowering of this synthesis took place and some of the greatest monuments of India were built. Based on the interaction of the two traditions, a unique Indian style of architecture was developed in this period

Before we describe this development, it may be useful to see the distinctive features of the Islamic architecture which were to play an important part in the development of a new style in Indian architecture

These features are clearly seen in the standardized architecture of the mosque and the mausoleum. The mosque consisted of a large, rectangular open courtyard surrounded by arcades on all four sides The *mehrab* which faces Mecca indicates the direction to the prayer. The call to worship was made from a tall tower or minaret In some mosques there were many minarets Another characteristic feature was the arch in the gateway and other places. The dome was another prominent feature of the mosque and the mausoleum.



Kandariya Mahadeo Temple, Khajuraho

The chief decorative element was sculpturing the building with geometrical designs and lettering in calligraphic style Some of these features were new to Indian architecture. The ancient Indian buildings were decorated with beautiful carving and sculpture while the Muslim buildings were marked by simplicity and lack of adornment. When the new buildings began to be erected, the two styles were gradually synthesized into a new and unique style.

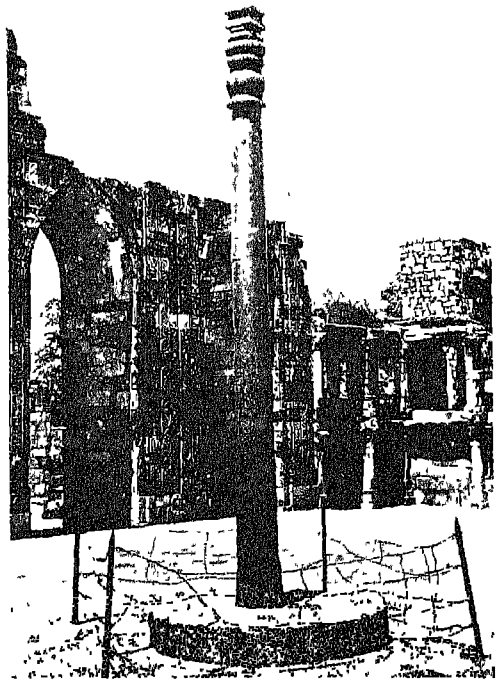
Architecture under the Sultanat

The Turkish rulers utilized the services of the local designers and craftsmen who were among the most skilful in the world The new fusion that started to take place avoided the extreme simplicity of the Islamic architecture and the lavish decoration of the earlier Indian architecture.

Among the first buildings to be erected were the mosques at Delhi and Ajmer by Qutb-ud-din Aibak The mosque built in Delhi was called the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. It measured about 70 x 30 metres. The central arch of this mosque which is decorated with beautiful sculptured calligraphy still stands and is about 17 metres high and about 7 metres wide.

The successor of Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish, was a great builder He further extended the mosque He also completed the building of the Qutb Minar which had been started by Qutb-ud-din and now stood in the extended courtyard of the mosque. This is a tower rising to a height of about 70 metres and is one of the most renowned monuments of India

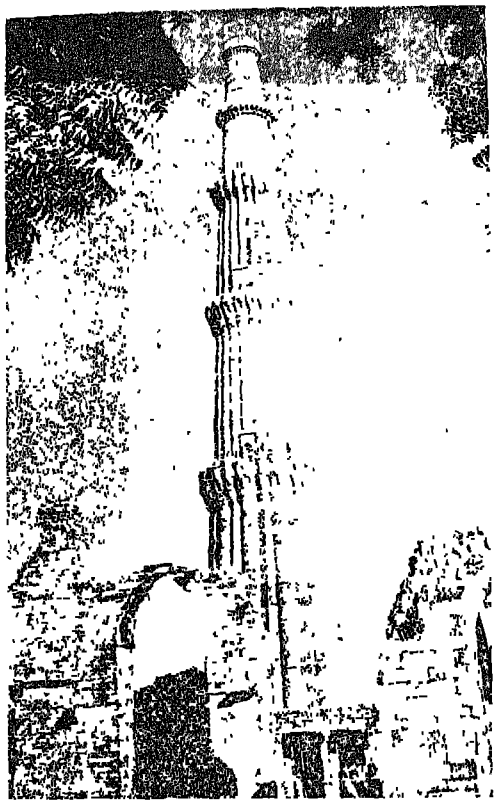
The next important buildings belong to the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji. He enlarged the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque still further and built a gateway to the enclosure of the mosque, the Alai Darwaza Decorative



One of the arches of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi The Iron Pillar, belonging to the Gupta period, can be seen in the front

element was introduced to beautify the building. He also started building a *minar* which was designed to be double the height of Qutb Minar, but the project remained unfulfilled.

The Tughlaqs who came after the Khaljis concentrated on the building of new cities in Delhi like Tughlaqabad, Jahanpanah and Ferozabad. A number of buildings were erected which differed in their style from the earlier buildings. Massive and strong structures like the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and the walls of Tughlaqabad were built The buildings of the Tughlaq period were significant from the point of view of the development of architecture. They were not beautiful but massive and very impressive.



Qutb Minar, Delhi

Architecture in the Regional Kingdoms

The regional kingdoms, building on the achievements of the previous period, developed their own distinctive styles of architecture. The process of synthesis continued in these kingdoms also and resulted in the construction of some of the finest buildings in India.

In Bengal were built the Adina mosque and the tomb of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah at Pandua and the Dakhil Darwaza and Tantipara mosque at Gaur. The oblong shape of many structures and the peculiar style of roof constructions were some of the distinctive features of the regional architecture of Bengal

In Jaunpur, the Sharqi kings built an impressive monument, the Atala mosque A huge massive screen covers the dome The walls and the ceilings are decorated with many ancient Indian designs like the lotus.

The rulers of Gujarat built many structures notable for their grandeur and the excellence of their carving and other decorative forms Ahmad Shah, the founder of Ahmedabad, built the Tin Darwaza and the Jami Masjid The finest building in Ahmedabad is the Sadi Saiyyid mosque popularly known as the Jaliwali Masjid The delicacy of the work is evident from the screens Mahmud Begarha built the imposing Jama Masjid at Champaner

The buildings at Mandu developed a distinctive style of their own under the Sultans of Malwa. Here were built the Jama Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal and a number of tombs The buildings of Malwa have wide and imposing arches and the windows are gracefully decorated The tomb of Hoshang Shah is made entirely of marble, the first of its kind in India, and is delicately decorated with yellow and black marble inlay work

The rulers of Kashmir also built many beautiful buildings Timber, stone and brick were used in the Jama Masjid completed by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin The turret is a striking feature of the mosques of Kashmir and recalls to mind the Buddhist *pagodas* The tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin's mother, built entirely of brick and glazed tiles, has been designed in the Persian style.

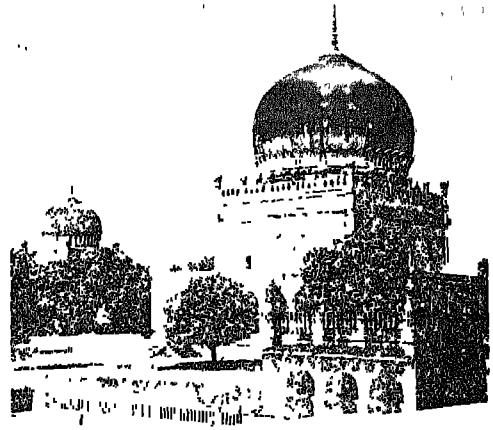
The Bahmani Sultans in the Deccan erected a number of buildings in a distinctive style at Bidar and Gulbarga They borrowed from the styles of Persia, Syria, Turkey and those of the temples of southern India. The Jama Masjid in Gulbarga is

quite well known The courtyard of this mosque is covered with a large number of domes. It is the only mosque in India which has a covered courtyard. Instead of minarets, there are domes at the four corners and a fifth and bigger one above the prayer chamber The absence of decorative work does not mar its grandeur There are two groups of tombs The first group has the tombs of the first two Sultans and shows the impress of the Tughlaq architecture. The second group called the *halft gumbad* or 'seven tombs' shows the influence of Persian and ancient Indian styles. Bidar also has a number of tombs. The tomb of Sultan Ahmad Shah Ali is richly decorated with beautiful paintings. The finest monument at Bidar is the *madrasa* of Mahmud Gavan, the great minister of the Bahmani kingdom for many years It is a three-storeyed building and has two towering *minars* at the front corners.

After the Bahmani kingdom was split up, many other buildings, such as the Mehtar Mahal and the Ibrahim Rauza, were erected in the new principalities The Gol Gumbaz, which is one of the largest domes in the world, at Bijapur, and the fort of Golconda, which is one of the strongest in India, and many tombs in Golconda also belong to this period.

These regional kingdoms, in the north and the south, played a significant role in the development of a common culture

The Vijayanagar kingdom in the south which arose in the fourteenth century and was destroyed in A.D.1565 also had a number of achievements in architecture to its credit Only the ruins remain to tell the story of their past magnificence The best examples of the Vijayanagar architecture were the Vithalswami and Hazar Rama temples at Hampi The former has three *gopurams* and a number of highly decorated pillars. The pillars of the latter were richly carved as were the inner walls and depicted scenes from the *Ramayana.*

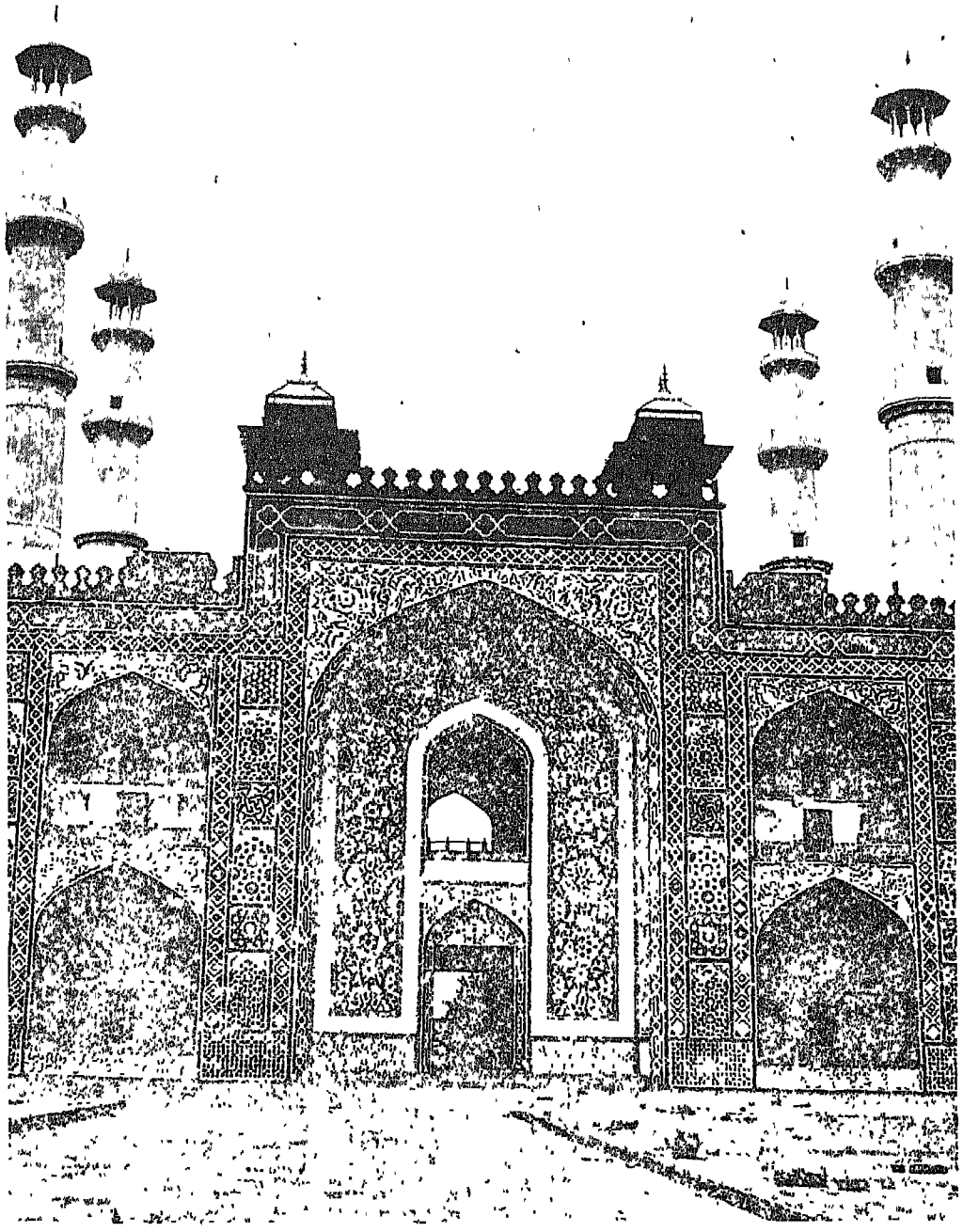


Tomb at Golconda

The Mughal Architecture

The process of synthesis was completed under the Mughals and the new architecture which had started taking shape with the establishment of the Sultanat reached the pinnacle of glory. The achievements of the Mughal period are the finest in architecture as well as in other fields of culture and can be very well compared with any preceding age in Indian history.

Babur and Humayun, the first two Mughal kings, erected a number of buildings with the help of Persian architects and these, now in ruins, are not very impressive Humayun had to flee the country in the face of the rising power of the Afghan ruler, Sher Shah Suri There was a short interregnum of Afghan rule before Humayun recovered the Indian territories for the Mughals The most important build-



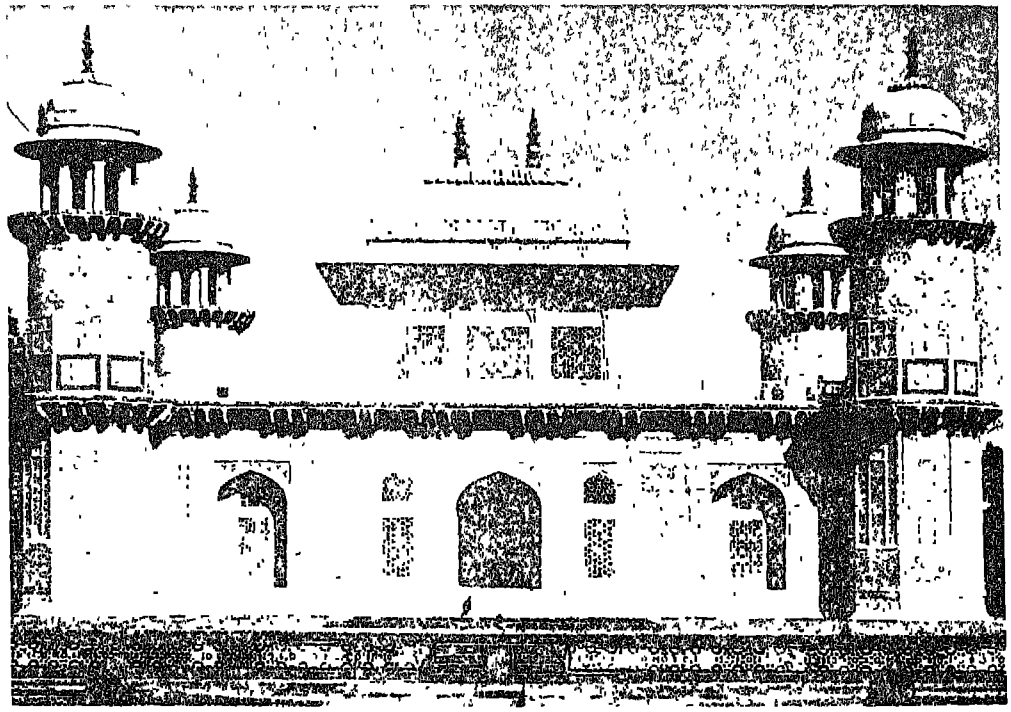
Akbar's Mausoleum, Sikandara

ing erected during the Afghan interregnum is the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram. The mausoleum is a well-proportioned building and stands in the middle of a tank.

The Mughal architecture, properly speaking, began in the reign of Akbar The first important building of Akbar's reign is Humayun's tomb at Delhi In this magnificent tomb, the Persian influence is very strong, particularly in the construction of the dome However, unlike the Persians' use of bricks and glazed tiles, the Indian builders of the tomb used stone and marble The two significant features of the Mughal architecture are also evident here — the large gateways and the placement of the building in the midst of a large park The tomb provided many architectural ideas for the building of the Taj Mahal later

The next important buildings erected under Akbar were the forts at Agra and Lahore He built his palace within the Agra fort. Many new buildings were constructed in the fort and perhaps the old ones altered by Akbar's successors However, the parts attributed to Akbar's reign were built under the strong influence of the ancient Indian style and have courtyards and pillars For the first time in the architecture of this style, living beings —elephants, lions, peacocks and other birds — were sculptured in the brackets

The crowning achievement of the reign of Akbar was the building of his new capi-

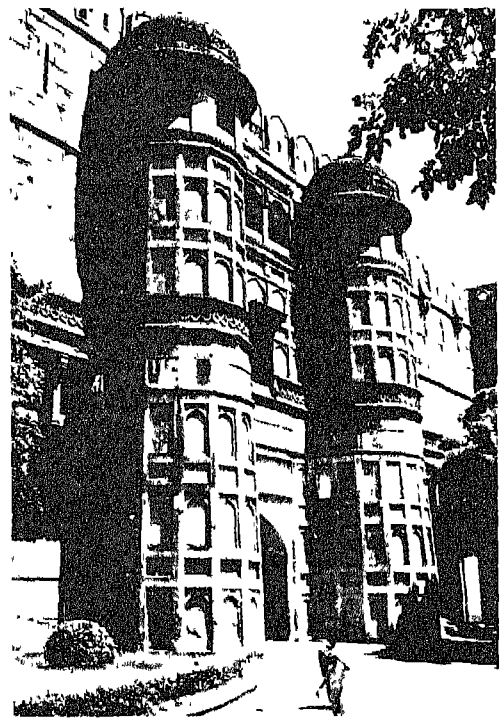


Tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, Agra

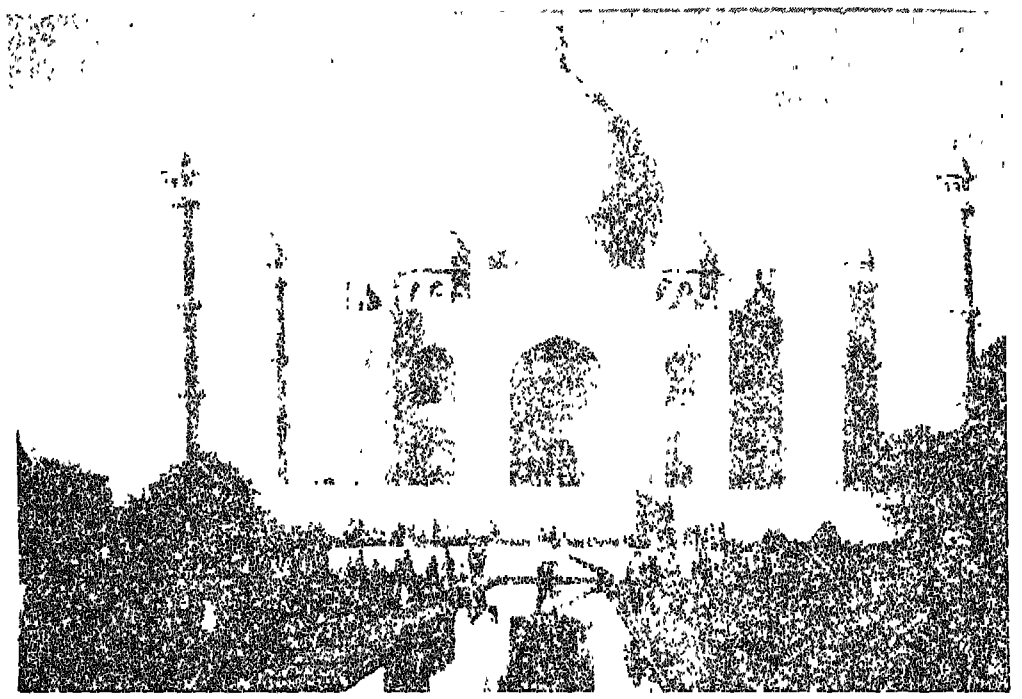
tal at Fatehpur Sikri, about 40 kilometres from Agra. The buildings at Fatehpur Sikri have been built in a variety of styles making it one of the most magnificent capitals in the world. It had a circumference of over 10 kilometres. Even now there exist a number of magnificent structures in Fatehpur Sikri. The arch of the Buland Darwaza is about 41 metres high and is perhaps the most imposing gateway in the world. The tomb of Salim Chishti built in white marble is exquisite in its beauty. The building popularly known as the palace of Jodha Bai was built in the style of ancient Indian architecture. The Jami Masjid shows the influence of the Persian style. The cloisters surrounding it have a large number of domes and rooms. The Diwan-i-aam and the Diwan-i-khas are remarkable buildings and their planning and decoration have a unique Indian style. Birbal's house is profusely sculptured with beautiful patterns. Another notable building is the Ibadat-Khana or the 'House of Worship' where learned people belonging to various religions gathered together and discussed questions of philosophy and theology in the presence of the emperor. Then there is the Panch Mahal, a five-storeyed building modelled perhaps on the Buddhist *viharas*.

During the reign of Jahangir, the mausoleum of Akbar was constructed at Sikandara. This is a magnificent monument in many ways. After a long time, the *minar* became architecturally significant here. It has beautiful arches and domes. But the whole structure, as Ferguson suggested, is inspired by the Buddhist *viharas*. Jahangir also extended the palace buildings in the Agra fort and built the beautiful tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, the father of Nur Jahan. The tomb was built in marble and is notable for its beautiful coloured inlay work. Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan built a beautiful mausoleum for her husband at Shahdara near Lahore.

The greatest of the Mughal builders was Shah Jahan, the successor of Jahangir. His reign marks the highest development of Mughal architecture. Some of the finest monuments of our country were built during his reign. Under him we find an exceedingly liberal use of marble, delicate decorative designs, a variety of arches and beautiful minarets. The list of Shah Jahan's buildings is very large—the completion of a large number of buildings in the Agra fort, the city of Shahjahanabad and the Red Fort of Delhi with its many buildings, the Jama Masjid at Delhi, the Taj Mahal and many others. Only a brief description of these buildings is possible here. The Diwan-



Entrance Gate, Agra Fort

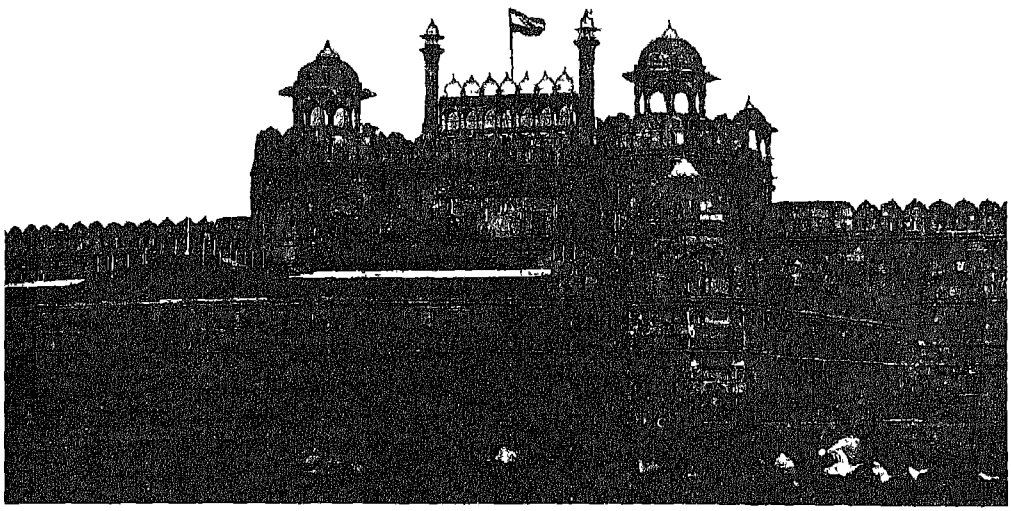


Taj Mahal, Agra

i-aam and the Moti Masjid in the Agra fort are built mainly in white marble with beautiful coloured inlay work The Diwan-i-khas and the Diwan-i-aam in the Red Fort are richly decorated and are works of great beauty. The Diwan-i-khas rightly bears the inscription: *Agar firdaus bar rooe zaminast— haminasto haminasto haminast* (if there is a paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here). The Red Fort has become associated with the history of our country during the past 350 years and it is here that the national flag was unfurled on the day after India became free The Jama' Masjid at Delhi with its imposing domes and minarets is the most famous mosque in the country and one of the finest in the world.

The most magnificent of Shah Jahan's buildings is the Taj Mahal built in memory of his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. It represents India's culture at its best and has been aptly described as 'the dream in marble'. It is remarkably well conceived and all its parts — the gateways, the central dome, the elegant *minars*, the delicate decoration, the inlay work in coloured marbles and precious stones, the lovely gardens surrounding it and the fountains in front—have been perfectly executed.

The only notable buildings of the reign of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughals, are the Badshahi mosque at Lahore and the



Red Fort, Delhi

Moti Masjid at Delhi. The period after him is one of general decline.

A significant contribution of the Mughals, especially Jahangir, was the laying of gardens. Some of the finest gardens were laid by him in Lahore and Srinagar.

The new style of architecture had a significant influence on the construction of Hindu temples and the secular buildings of the Rajputs during this period.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN INDIA

As in architecture, the cultural heritage of India in the field of painting is very rich. The first and the most creative period of the art of painting extends from the first to the seventh centuries of the Christian era. Of this the richest heritage is that of the Ajanta paintings. Many murals which once decorated the walls of the Ajanta caves have disappeared due to neglect and the ravages of time.

The paintings of Ajanta depict various themes. There are those which depict the pomp and splendour of the royal courts and the romance of love and the joy of feasting, singing and dancing and the man-made world with luxurious products, buildings, textiles and jewellery. Some depict the world of nature—vegetation and flowers, animals and birds. Many themes depicted are from the Buddha's life and the *jataka* stories All the scenes depicted are full of vitality. The figures are drawn with admirable skill. The intense human appeal gives the message of the unity of life depicted through the panorama of all forms of life Every form receives the equal attention of the artists and the various worlds of

painting combine to give a fuller picture of real life. The medium through which this is done is the line In the West what is achieved with colour is achieved with line in India. The line used by the Ajanta artists is unique, sweeping over vast areas with firmness and rhythm It can accomplish with equal skill the calm and serene Buddha and the restless eager crowds in a dance or a market-place This style in ancient times spread to Central Asia and is evident in wall paintings and in paintings on wooden panels.

In northern India, the frescoes at Bagh are the best survivals, most of the others

Boddhisattva — Ajanta Painting

having been lost to us. The tradition of painting continued for some time in other parts of India, e.g. at Badami, Kanchi and Ellora. It later spread to Sri Lanka where the beautiful frescoes at Sigriya seem to be directly related to the traditions of Ajanta

Gradually the art of wall painting died, though the art of book-illumination continued, particularly in Jain texts.

The next great era in the art of painting was ushered in by the Mughals. The Mughals brought with them the traditions of Persian painting. Humayun brought with him to India two pupils of the great painter Behzad. They came into contact with their counterparts in India and under Akbar the synthesis of the two styles was encouraged. He gathered together a number of painters from Persia, Kashmir and Gujarat. The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions a number of artists —Abdus Samad, Mir Saiyid Ali, Miskin, Daswant, Basawan, Mukand and many others They illustrated manuscripts like the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* and

Palace Scene — Ajanta Painting

Babar Nama. Individual pieces were also painted. By the end of Akbar's reign, an independent Mughal style of painting had been developed.

Jahangir himself was a great connoisseur and patron of painting Under him the Mughal school of painting was fully deve loped and made remarkable progress. The painting was no longer confined to book-illumination Portrait painting and depiction of subjects drawn from life and nature became popular Some of the finest painters in this period were Nadir, Murad, Bishan Das, Manohar, Govardhan, Mansur and Farrukh Beg. Writing about his own knowledge of painting in his autobiography, Jahangir says that he could distinguish between the work of each noted painter even if a painting was the product of joint work. The competence and skill of the Indian artists are evident from the incident which Sir Thomas Roe, who came to the court of Jahangir, mentions. The artists of Jahangir's court made several copies of a painting which Roe had presented to the emperor on the same day. The copies were so perfect that Roe found it difficult to spot the original.

Thus in the course of a few decades, fine works of painting were created. The development continued under Shah Jahan. Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan, was a great patron of painting. With Aurangzeb, the art declined in the Mughal courts.

With the withdrawal of court patronage many artists went to different parts of the country and influenced the development of new schools of painting. Two of the most important schools of painting that thus emerged were the Rajasthani and the Pahari schools. The subjects of the paintings of these schools were drawn from the epics, myths and legends and love themes.

LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

India's heritage in languages and literature is one of the richest in the world. Through the many centuries of India's history, many languages have grown and have influenced one another. Some of the languages that were spoken in India in ancient times and had a rich literature have become extinct; others remain important For example, Sanskrit, though no longer a spoken language, is still a language of many religious rituals and of literature. However, the old languages have left their mark on the languages which we speak today and which began to develop towards the close of the ancient period. These languages have bequeathed a very rich literature to us.

Languages

Besides many small groups, there are two main groups of languages — the Indo-European or Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian. Most of the languages spoken in the northern parts of India belong to the former group and those of the southern parts to the latter. However, these two groups have not developed in isolation from each other.

You have read about the Harappan script which has not yet been deciphered. We also do not know what language the Harappans spoke. Sanskrit was the language of the Indo-Aryans who came to India and belongs to the Indo-European group of languages. Sanskrit was gradually standardized and given a highly scientific grammar by Panini, the great grammarian, in about fourth century B.C. Sanskrit was the language of religion, philosophy and learning and was used by the upper castes, the brahmanas and the kshatriyas. The common people spoke a number of dialects which are called Prakrits. Buddha, as you already know, preached in

the language of the people. Buddhist literature was written in Pali, one of the Prakrits Ashoka had his rock and pillar edicts inscribed in the popular languages

Among the Dravidian languages Tamil is the most ancient. The others developed during the first millennium of the Christian era.

Though Sanskrit again became the predominant language of learning in the period of the Guptas, the Prakrits continued to develop. The various spoken languages that developed are called *Apabhramshas*. These formed the basis of the modern Indian languages which developed in the various regions of India during the medieval period.

During the period of the Turks and the Mughals, as you have read before, two new languages —Arabic and Persian —entered India. Of these Persian is more important. It was the court language for hundreds of years and continued to be used widely right up to the nineteenth century. A rich tradition of Persian literature grew in India during this period and led to the growth of a new language — Urdu—based on the dialects of Hindi and drawing much of its vocabulary from Persian. It became the common language of towns all over northern India and the Deccan and developed a very rich literature in poetry and prose

Throughout the course of the development of Indian languages, various foreign languages have played a significant part and helped Indian languages to enrich their vocabulary. This happened as a result of close contacts with the cultures of many peoples outside India.

Thus the languages that we speak today have a long history behind them. There are eighteen languages which have been mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. In addition to these, hundreds of other languages are spoken by people in various parts of the country. This variety of languages has made India a multilingual country The languages spoken today have grown over a period of centuries and have influenced and enriched one another

Ancient Indian Literature

The earliest known work of the Aryans in India was the *Rig Veda* which is a collection of 1028 hymns in Vedic Sanskrit Most of the hymns are in praise of different Vedic deities and were intended for recitation at the *Yajnas* or sacrifices. Many of them are beautiful descriptions of nature. Some of the most enchanting are addressed to *Ushas*, the goddess of dawn, like this one:

> In the sky's framework she has gleamed with brightness. The goddess has cast off the robe of darkness. Rousing the world from sleep, with ruddy horses, Dawn in her well-yoked chariot is arriving (*Rig Veda*, i, 1 113)

The *Rig Veda* was followed by three more Vedas — *Yajur Veda* which gives directions for the performance of the *Yajna*, the *Sama Veda* which prescribes the tunes for the recitation of the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, and the *Atharva Veda* which prescribes rites and rituals. After the four Vedas, a number of works, called the *Brahmanas*, grew which contained detailed explanation of Vedic literature and instructions. The *Aranyakas*, which are an appendix to the *Brahmanas*, prescribed certain rites and also laid the basis of a body of more philosophical literature. It was the Upanishadic literature which dealt with questions like the origin of the universe, birth and death, the material and spiritual world, nature of knowledge and many other questions. The earliest Upanishads are the

Brihad-Aranyaka and *Chanddogya* The Upanishads are in the form of dialogues and express the highest thoughts in simple and beautiful imagery. Another body of literature to grow in the early period was the Vedangas which, besides rituals, were concerned with astronomy, grammar and phonetics One of the most outstanding works of this period was a classic on Sanskrit grammar, the *Ashtadhyayi* by Panini

All these works were in Sanskrit They were handed down from generation to generation orally and were put to writing much later

The two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* were developed over a period of centuries and were perhaps put to writing in their present form in the second century A.D The *Mahabharata* contains about 100,000 verses and is the longest single poem in the world Besides the main story of the war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, a number of other interesting stories are woven into this epic The *Bhagvad Gita,* a later addition to the *Mahabharata,* enshrines a philosophical doctrine and in it are described the three paths to salvation, viz. *Karma, Gyan* and *Bhakti.* The *Ramayana,* the story of Rama, is shorter than the *Mahabharata* and is full of interesting adventures and episodes. These two epics have influenced the thinking of millions of people for centuries.

This period abounds in both religious and secular literature in Sanskrit. The *Puranas* are important, for they were the main influence in the development from early Vedic religion to Hinduism There were many other *shastras* and *smritis* The *shastras* contained works of science and philosophy For example, the *Arthashastra* by Kautilya was a treatise on the science of governance There were *shastras* on art, mathematics and other sciences The *smritis* dealt with the performance of duties, customs and laws prescribed according to *dharma* The most famous of these is the *Manusmriti*

The early Buddhist literature was in Pali and consists of two sections. The *Sutta-pitaka* consists mainly of dialogues between the Buddha and his followers The *Vinaya-pitaka* is concerned mainly with the rules of the organization of the monasteries. The *Milinda-panha* is another great Buddhist work consisting of dialogues between the Indo-Greek king Menander and the Buddhist philosopher Nagasena. Another great Buddhist work consists of hundreds of *Jataka* stories which became the subjects of Buddhist sculpture and are popular all over the world for their wisdom. Later many Buddhist works were written in Sanskrit Of these the most famous is the *Buddhacharita* or 'Life of Buddha' by Ashvaghosha.

The period beginning a little before the reign of the Guptas ushered in the glorious period of Sanskrit literature, particularly secular. This was the greatest period for the growth of poetry and drama The great writers of this period are well known-Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bharavi, Bhartrihari, Bana, Magha and many others Of these, Kalidasa is known all over the world. His works — the *Kumarasambhava,* the *Raghuvamsha,* the *Meghaduta,* the *Abhijnanashakuntalam* and others — are unrivalled for their poetry and style Bana wrote the *Harshacharita,* a biography of King Harsha, and *Kadambari* Among the other famous works of the period are Bhavabhuti's *Utter-Ramacharita,* Bharavi's *Kirtarjuniya,* Vishakhadatta's *Mudra Rakhshasa,* Shudraka's *Mricchakatika.* Dandin wrote the *Daskumaracharita* or the

'tales of the Ten Princes' The subjects of these and other works were political events, romances, allegories, comedies and philosophical questions. Besides these, there was also a growing body of philosophical literature. The most famous of these in the later period are the great commentaries of Shankaracharya. There were also great collections of tales and stories. The most famous collections are the *Panchatantra* and the *Kathasarit-sagar* which have been translated into many languages all over the world.

The four Dravidian languages —Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam —developed their own distinct scripts and literature. Tamil is the oldest of these with its literature going back to the early centuries of the Christian era. According to tradition, three literary gatherings or *Sangams* were held at which many sages and poets recited their compositions. This body of literature consists of many themes like politics, war and love. The famous works of this body of literature include the *Ettutogai* ('Eight Anthologies'), the *Tolkappiyam* (a work of Tamil grammar) and the *Pattuppattu*('The Ten Songs'). Thiruvalluvar wrote the famous *Kural* which, in verse, deals with many aspects of life and religion. The *Silappadikaram* and the *Manimekalai* are some of the other most famous works of early Tamil literature

Literature in the Medieval Period

In the early medieval period in northern India, Sanskrit continued to be the language of literature. This is the period of the works of two writers in Kashmir— Somadeva's *Katha-sarit-sagar* which we have already mentioned and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. The latter, a history of Kashmir, is a work of great importance as this is the first proper historical work in India. Another famous work of this period is the *Gitagovinda* by Jayadeva, which is one of the finest poems in Sanskrit literature. As we have said before, this was the period when the *Apabhramsha* languages had started developing into modern Indian languages. One of the earliest works in an early form of Hindi was *Prithviraj Raso* by Chandbardai This work which marks the beginning of bardic literature deals with the heroic deeds of Prithviraj Chauhan.

In the southern parts, this period saw the flourishing of Sanskrit literature We have already mentioned the philosophical commentaries of Shankara. Another important Sanskrit work of this period is Bilhana's *Vikramankadeva-charita*, a biography of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI However, this period is more important for the growth of literature in the Dravidian languages Nripatunga wrote a great work of poetry in Kannada called the *Kavirajamarga*. For a few centuries, the Kannada literature was deeply influenced by Jainism Pampa wrote the *Adipurana* and the *Vikramarjuna-Vijaya*, the former dealing with the life of the first Jain *tirthankara* and the latter based on the *Mahabharata*. Ponna wrote the *Shantipurana*, a legendary history of the sixteenth *tirthankara* Another great Kannada writer was Ranna, a contemporary of Pampa and Ponna. Two of his famous works are the *Ajitapurana* and the *Gadayuddha* Pampa, Ponna and Ranna are known as the Three Gems of the early Kannada literature. Kamban wrote the *Ramayanam* in Tamil In Tamil, this was the period of the composition of the great hymns of the Alvars and the Nayanars The hymns of the Alvars are collected into the *Nalayira-Divya Prabandham* Some of the Nayanar works

are the *Thiruvasagam*, the *Thirumanairam* and the *Thiruttondattogai* Telugu also produced great religious and secular literature in this period This included translations of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, works of grammar, science and other secular literature. Literature in Malayalam also started growing

The period of the Sultanat of Delhi saw a great advance in the growth of modern Indian languages and literature. *Braj Bhasha* and *Khari Boli*, forms of Hindi, began to be used in literary compositions. Many devotional songs were composed in these languages. Heroic literature was written in Rajasthani, which was akin to Hindi and Gujarati. The famous ballad *Alha Udal* and the *Vishaldeo Raso* belong to this period. The literature in other modern Indian languages was also growing. Mulla Daud wrote perhaps the oldest poem in Awadhi language called *Chandayana* Commentaries on ancient scriptures, however, continued to be written in Sanskrit.

Persian was the court language of the Sultanat. Because of its literature many Persian words became part of the vocabulary of Indian languages. A very notable contribution of the Turks was in the field of historical literature in Persian. In ancient India, there was no tradition of historical writing. The Turks introduced the Arab and Persian traditions of historical writing in India and with them we get a fairly systematic account of Indian history beginning with the Sultanat of Delhi. There were many historians in this period. Ziauddin Barani wrote the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* which gives a detailed account of the reigns of the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs He also wrote a work on political theory called the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*. Perhaps the most outstanding literary figure of this period was Amir Khusrau. He was a poet, historian, mystic and composer of music. He was also a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya. He wrote the *Ashiqa*, the *Nuh Sipihr*, the *Qiranal-Sadayan*, the *Khazain-ul-Futuh* and several works of poetry. He symbolizes the composite culture which was growing under the new impact. He took great pride in his being an Indian and praised India as the 'Earthly Paradise'. He praised India's fauna and flora, its beauty, its buildings, its knowledge and learning. He believed that in many respects the essence of Hinduism resembled Islam. He considered *Hindawi*, the Hindi spoken around the region of Delhi, his mother tongue and composed many verses in it. He composed a number of bilingual quatrains and verses in Hindi and Persian. The healthy tradition started by him continued for centuries after him.

The regional kingdoms provided a great stimulus to regional languages and literature. The Sultans of Bengal, Gujarat and other states patronized local languages and literature. Bhakti saints preached in the language of the people. Many of them like Kabir were great poets There were two main forms of Hindi in this period– Bhojpuri and Awadhi. Kabir wrote in Bhojpuri and his *dohas* or couplets have become a part of the folklore. Malik Muhammad Jayasi wrote the *Padmavat* in Awadhi. The famous *Ramacharitamanas* by Tulsidas was also written in Awadhi in this period. There were many other poets of Awadhi in this period. For example, Qutban, a disciple of the Sufi saint Shaikh Burhan, wrote the *Mrigavati*.

Literature in other languages also developed in this period In Bengali the *Ramayana* by Krittivasa and the hundreds of lyrics by the famous poet Chandidas were written under the patronage of the

rulers. With Chaitanya, the tradition of writing devotional songs began Narasi Mehta wrote devotional songs in Gujarati and Namdev and Eknath in Marathi There were important developments in Kashmir under Zainul Abidin, under whose patronage many Sanskrit works like the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajataringini* were translated into Persian.

Under the Vijayanagar kingdom, Sanskrit literature continued to grow. However, this was an important period for the growth of Telugu literature. Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest of Vijayanagar rulers, was also a Telugu and Sanskrit writer. He wrote the *Vishnuchittiya*. There were many poets in his court, the most famous of whom was Allasani Peddana who wrote the *Manucharita*. Dhurjati wrote the *Kalahasti Mahatamya*.

As in art and architecture the Mughal period also saw great developments in literature. Many Mughal emperors and members of the royal family were great men of letters Babar, the first Mughal ruler, was one of the pioneers of Turkish poetry and also the author of a very valuable autobiography in Turkish, *Babar Nama*, which was later translated into Persian. Gulbadan Begum, sister of Humayun, wrote the *Humayun Nama* Jahangir, the great connoisseur of painting, wrote his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Aurangzeb also was a prolific writer and the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah 'Zafar' was a notable Urdu poet.

Hindi literature made significant progress during Akbar's reign. Tulsidas, who has already been mentioned, and the famous saint Surdas wrote in this period Keshavdas, a great poet, wrote on themes of love. Rahim's *dohas* or couplets are extremely popular in many parts of the country. It was also in Akbar's time that the great Sanskrit work on styles of writing, the *Alankarashekhara* by Keshava Misra, appeared

This was a period of many notable writings in the Persian language Abul Fazl wrote the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar Nama* *Ain-i-Akbari* gives details of Indian customs and manners, religions and philosophy, economic conditions and almost every other aspect of life. As a historical work, it is perhaps unparalleled Abul Fazl's brother Faizi was a great poet of Persian and was responsible for the translation of many Sanskrit works into Persian Akbar had started a whole department for translation of works like the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* the *Atharva-Veda*, the *Bhagvad Gita* and the *Panchatantra*

Many important historical works were produced under the emperors after Akbar. Some of the most important historians of this period were Abdul Hamid Lahori, Khafi Khan, Muhammad Kazim and Sujan Rai Bhandari Literature in modern Indian languages also continued to grow The famous book of Bihari Lal called the *Satsai* in Hindi belongs to this period.

One of the most significant developments during the medieval period was the birth of the Urdu language. This new language soon developed one of the richest literatures as a modern Indian language. It produced great poets like Wali, Mir Dard, Mir Taqi Mir, Nazir Akbarabadi, Asadullah Khan Ghalib and, in the twentieth century, Iqbal and others Urdu prose also developed early in the eighteenth century when the translation of most of the historical works from Persian and Sanskrit into Urdu began At the same time many original prose works in Urdu were written like Muhammad Husain Azad's *Darbar-i-*

Akbari The Urdu novel was one of the earliest to develop in the Indian languages Urdu became the language of the urban people of northern India and the Deccan and is one of the best examples of the growth of a common culture

MUSIC AND DANCE

As in architecture, painting, languages and literature, signs of growth and synthesis are visible in the evolution of other aspects of culture Governed by almost the same basic ideas, the music and dances of India developed a very rich variety on the foundations laid in the ancient times The earliest traditions of Indian music can be traced back to the Vedas which prescribed the pitch and accent for the chanting of Vedic hymns The music of the Vedic chant survives to this day The earliest known treatise of Indian music, dance and drama is as old as second century B.C This is Bharata's *Natyashastra*. Much of the musical terminology used till today is derived from Bharata's treatise. Another major work composed over a thousand years later was Matanga's *Brihaddesi*. The concept of *raga* was discussed at great length in this work. A thirteenth century work, Sarngadeva's *Sangita-ratnakara*, mentions 264 *ragas* Indian music, both vocal and instrumental, developed with seven basic notes and five others. A variety of string, wind and drum instruments were later invented. Music has, from times immemorial, been one of the most cherished arts of India. Besides providing patronage to musicians, many rulers themselves were accomplished musicians. We see, for example, Samudragupta's coin in which the king himself is shown playing on the Vina. Music was also associated with the worship of gods and goddesses and in its perfection it has received the same devotion as worship.

The medieval period witnessed further developments in music Music was not a part of the original Islamic tradition (though the form of recitation of the Quranic verses is musical), but it developed under the influence of the Sufis and became a part of court life Many new forms and instruments were developed Amir Khusrau, about whose contribution to literature and historical writing you have read, is believed to have invented some of these musical instruments. He was the originator in India of the early form of the popular musical style known as *Qawwali Khayal*, one of the most important forms of Indian classical music, is also believed to be his contribution. Then there are the legendary figures of Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa, and his queen Rupamati in the sixteenth century. They were not only accomplished musicians but also introduced many new *ragas* The most notable figure in music in medieval India was Tansen, the court musician of Akbar His attainments in music have become a legend and his memory is deeply cherished by every musician to this day. The patronage of music continued at the courts of rulers in the eighteenth century and the traditions evolved through the centuries were kept alive The contribution of the Bhakti and Sufi saints in the development and promotion of music is very important.

The growth of Indian classical music has been a major force of India's cultural unity For hundreds of years, most of the words and themes of the Indian classical music have been derived from Hindu mythology but some of the greatest masters of this music have been Muslims. It is inter-

esting to mention here the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, a collection of songs in praise of Hindu deities and Muslim saints, which was written by a seventeenth century ruler Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

Both in vocal and instrumental music, two main classical styles have evolved–Hindustani and Carnatic. Some of the greatest figures in Carnatic music were Purandaradasa, Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Syamasastri whose compositions continue to dominate Carnatic music even now. These two styles have many things in common and each has a variety of forms. The rich heritage of classical music that has come down to us has been further enriched in the hands of masters in India today and has won admirers all the world over. Besides classical music, Indian people have developed rich traditions of folk music.

Indian dance has also developed a rich classical tradition. It has become the medium of expression of emotions, of telling a story and of drama. The story of Indian dance can be seen in the temple sculptures of ancient and medieval times. The popular image of Shiva in the form of Nataraja symbolizes the influence of this art form on the life of the Indian people. It received the patronage of emperors and kings as also of the common people. Some styles of classical dance that have evolved through the centuries are Kathakali, Kuchipudi, Bharat Natyam, Kathak and Manipuri. All these styles have developed over a long period of time. Practically every region and area in the country has also developed rich traditions of folk dances. The rich variety in music and dance forms, classical and folk, is a major component of India's cultural heritage.

Through their music and dance, Indian people have expressed their joys and sorrows, their struggles and aspirations, and a myriad other emotions. While at work and during their hours of leisure, they have danced, sung and played music. These art forms have been inspired by life and in turn have enriched life.

In this chapter, only a few components and aspects of India's cultural development have been described. Indians throughout their history, made significant advances in various fields of knowledge such as science and mathematics, medicine and surgery, and philosophy. You have read about some of the achievements in these fileds in earlier chapters of this book (Vol. I). Some of the great names in Indian science, mathematics, medicine and surgery are Aryabhata, Brahmagupta, Charaka and Sushruta. A prominent figure in the field of science in the sixteenth century was Fathullah Shirazi. In all these fields, India's achievements reached other countries. Many works of these men of science were translated by the Arabs and through the Arabs they reached the Europeans. You are already familiar with the story of the Indian numerals. Indians also benefited from the scientific achievements of other cultures, particularly in astronomy and, in medieval times, also in medicine. Science in India failed to keep pace with scientific development in some other parts of the world only from about the sixteenth century when modern science began to develop in Europe. In technology, this situation came even later. The comparative backwardness of Indian science and technology grew more acute as science and technology made rapid progress in the West. This, as you have seen, had disastrous consequences.

In philosophy also, India made signifi-

cant-advances in ancient and medieval times. Many distinct schools of philosophy grew, both idealist and materialist. In later times, however, there was too much emphasis on writing commentaries on earlier philosophical works rather than developing new thinking. Though India's heritage in this area of intellectual life is of great importance and has been a significant influence in philosophical writings in other countries, the neglect of certain developments in philosophy had a negative effect on Indian intellectual life. These developments, particularly of scientific, humanistic and rationalist thinking, began to be imbibed in Indian intellectual life in the nineteenth century.

This in brief is the story of Indian cultural development through the ages. Through the long years, people living in India and those coming to India intermingled with each other They developed a rich and dynamic culture always ever-growing through its internal evolution and through contacts with other cultures. Many streams of thought, belief and expression originating elsewhere have mixed with the ever-growing streams in India and coalesced to form the ocean of Indian culture. Many streams of faith and religion, of styles of architecture and art, and of languages rich in literature have developed during the course of centuries. In its variety Indian culture is one of the richest in the world. All the diverse streams have developed in this country and are Indian. This richness has come about as a result of the freedom which every region and community has enjoyed to develop its genius and through their mutual interactions. It also needs to be remembered that the culture of any country is a dynamic and ever-growing entity which needs to be further developed and enriched by every generation.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1 Name the many groups of people who came to India and settled down here from about 1500 B.C to A D 1800

2 Name one important work of each of the following persons:
Bana, Kalidasa, Ashvaghosha, Panini, Abul Fazl, Jahangir, Amir Khusrau, Kautilya, Thiruvalluvar, Kamban, Pampa, Tulsidas, Ziauddin Barani, Kalhan

3 How did the temple architecture begin in India ? What were the main features of its development in the southern parts of India ? Name some of the important temples of the ancient and early medieval periods

4 What were the languages of literature in ancient India ? How did the modern Indian languages develop ?

Things to Do

1 On an outline map of India, show the places where important monuments of the ancient and medieval periods are found

2. Visit the monuments belonging to the same or different periods and try to find out differences in style

3 With the help of your teacher, prepare a list of about 100 words belonging to other languages which have become a part of your mothertongue.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. Why do we say that the heritage of Indian culture is very rich ? Has it something to do with its diversity ? If so, is it desirable, in your opinion, to have such a diversity of culture ? Why ? Or why not ?
2 What lessons do you learn from India's cultural heritage ?
3 What are the main contributions of the medieval period to religion, art and architecture, literature and languages ?
4. Is it true that the characteristic feature of Indian culture in different periods of India's history has been 'unity in diversity' ? Study more intensively any one period of history and discuss concretely whether this is true or not.

CHAPTER 15

Indian Awakening

You have read about the changes brought about by the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution and the socio-political revolutions which laid the foundations of the modern world in Europe. These changes led to the growth of rationalism and scientific thinking, a vast increase in the production of goods, increasing participation of people in the government of their countries and a growing realization of human equality and respect for the dignity of the individual Indian society during the same period was, however, still living in its old ways, largely uninfluenced by these developments. It had stagnated and had to pay the price of stagnation when it failed to resist the onslaught of British imperialism.

Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century

Each village produced almost all its bare necessities of life. Its relationship with other parts of the country for its economic needs was limited The techniques of agriculture also had not significantly changed for hundreds of years. Local crafts and agricultural operations were carried out with the help of simple tools. The economic bonds that unite a country were weak. Towns and cities had developed as administrative, pilgrimage or commercial centres. The industries produced luxury or semi-luxury goods with the help of simple tools. These goods were produced mainly for the urban population or for exports.

Indian merchants traded with other countries and made vast profits. These profits, however, were not used to develop industries Technological improvements were not introduced. Some changes were beginning to take place as a result of internal and foreign trade. For example, the domestic system had begun. In course of time, these forces might have become strong enough to bring about fundamental changes. However, before this could happen, India fell a prey to British conquest, and processes of internal change in India, however slow, were disrupted.

The economic stagnation was accompanied by a similar stagnation in the social sphere. The social system of the Hindus was predominantly based on the caste system which had arisen in ancient times. In course of time, it had undergone many changes, but its hereditary and unequal basis had remained unchanged. The caste system was one of the most important causes of social disunity There were hundreds of castes and sub-castes in the country which led to the fragmentation of society. The sense of belonging to a caste or sub-caste was strong. A large part of the population was considered by the people of higher castes as 'untouchable'.

The life of the Hindus, in theory, was governed by the Dharmashastras which

prescribed different rights and duties for different castes. But there were several evil customs and practices which had become a part of the Hindu social system, such as *sati*, infanticide, child marriages, and belief in superstitions. The status of women in society had deteriorated. A widow's life particularly if she belonged to a 'higher' caste, was miserable. She could not remarry even if she became a widow during her childhood.

The Muslims were also divided by caste, ethnic and sectarian differences The backward economic system, together with a social system lacking in cohesion and equality, retarded the forces of progress. The political system presented an equally dismal picture. Political loyalties were primarily local or regional. The Mughal empire had declined after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. India was divided into a number of small and big states fighting against one another. The Marathas who emerged as the strongest power in India after the decline of the Mughal empire had no conception of a united Indian nation. Their conception of nationality was narrow and limited, and they thought of dominating over other parts of the country rather than welding them into a nation. The concept of 'nation' as we understand it today had not developed.

It was in such conditions that the European trading companies, active in India since the early seventeenth century, started interfering in the political affairs of the country Taking advantage of the political, economic, and social weaknesses of Indian society, the British were able to conquer India.

IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE ON INDIA

The conquest of India, as you have already read, was undertaken by the English East India Company established in A.D. 1600 for purposes of trade with India. In 1765, after the Battle of Buxar, the Company received the right to collect the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The British power gradually increased and within a period of about 50 years, it had emerged as the supreme power in India.

With the expansion of the British empire in India, the influence and the privileges of the Company declined and those of the British government increased. The Industrial Revolution had already begun in England and the power of the new class of capitalists was on the increase. The empire increasingly served the interests of this new class, and India became a vast market for the consumption of manufactured goods and a source for raw materials. Thus, in a matter of a few decades, the character and purpose of the British empire in India underwent an important change. After the suppression of the Revolt of 1857, the Indian empire passed to the British Crown and the British government became the paramount power in the country. Those states which were under the Indian princes were not sovereign as the British government enjoyed vast powers over them. Thus, in about a hundred years, the entire country passed under British control.

The British conquest had many important consequences for Indian society because of its impact on the economic, social and political system of the country. The Indian people, under the impact of British rule and as a reaction to it, started movements for the reform and modernization of Indian society, as well as for putting an end to foreign rule.

Impact of British Rule

A significant result of the British conquest was the political and administrative unification of India even though under and in the interest of foreign rulers, and the

establishment of a uniform rule of law. While this was, no doubt, done to serve the imperialist interests of Britain, it became a factor in the rise of modern India.

The economic policies of the British government in India had even more significant consequences as they resulted in the disruption of the traditional Indian social and economic relationships. New social classes arose In the areas where the Permanent Settlement was introduced a new class of landlords, some of whom were very rich, was formed which regarded land as their private property and aimed at obtaining the maximum monetary gain out of it. They did not cultivate the land themselves. The cultivators were mere tenants with no rights and could be evicted by the landowners. In areas where the Ryotwari System came into force, the peasant was the owner of the land but his life was miserable. He was very often heavily in debt and in the clutches of the money-lenders who, eventually, came to control the land and its produce.

The land revenue assessment was made according to the size of the holdings and the revenue demand was fixed in terms of money, whatever the actual produce. The collection of fixed revenue in cash had a far-reaching consequence — agricultural production was no longer for use in the village only and much of it was sent to the market for sale. The production for sale in the market led to specialization of cultivation. Crops which could fetch a higher price in the market were grown in areas suitable for their cultivation. With the increase in the demand for raw materials to feed the industries in England, cash crops began to be grown. The specialization and commercialization of crops further undermined the self-sufficiency of the village. The peasants now depended for many of their needs on the market outside the village. The new revenue systems led to peasant indebtedness and the commercialization of agriculture worsened it further They also contributed to the problem of landlessness.

The British conquest also led to the ruin of Indian industry and trade. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, India was the principal supplier of cotton textiles to England and other countries of Europe With the growth of the cotton industry in England following the Industrial Revolution, and with growing restrictions on imports into Europe, the policies the British government pursued destroyed Indian industry. Within a few decades, India was reduced from the position of a principal exporter to that of one of the largest consumers of foreign products. It produced raw materials to feed the British industries. Restrictions were imposed on the growth of Indian industries. The Indian traders had been eliminated from the foreign trade of India. Gradually, they were reduced to a minor position in internal trade also. Internal trade between different parts of the country also suffered a decline. The development of the means of transport and communication, particularly of railways, was designed to facilitate this process and to destroy the traditional pattern of the Indian economy. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a few modern industries began to be developed in India. The principal among these were cotton, jute, and coalmining. Though the growth of these industries was lopsided and many restrictions were imposed on them, the beginning of modern industry was a landmark in Indian history.

In the early nineteenth century, some

British administrators of India were inspired by the liberal ideas popular in the West at that time, and tried to introduce them in India This was reflected in some of the social legislation of the British government in India, and in the introduction of modern education. Some of the important measures taken were the abolition of sati, ban on infanticide and granting the legal right to widows to remarry. The educational system was reorganized and though it was done with a view to training people for clerical and other lower services, it brought the educated people into contact with the modern ideas of democracy and nationalism. The beginning of the Press, in spite of the severe restrictions placed upon it from time to time, helped progressively to spread modern ideas to a large number of people.

Another effect of the British rule was the emergence of new social classes in India which played an important part in the awakening of the people. A significant development was the emergence of a middle class. People of this class received modern education and became interested in public services With the beginning of modern industry, a class of industrialists as well as of big and small traders also started growing. There were also the moneylenders in the villages. Another significant group which emerged was that of professional people who constituted the intelligentsia —officials, lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, technicians and others. This group, mainly drawn from the new social classes mentioned above, was very important in the society. It was more liberal in outlook because it drew its position and strength from professional competence rather than hereditary privilege. By reason of its acquaintance with the intellectual currents in other parts of the world, it became the leading group in the demand for modernization.

Some other classes also became important in course of time. The British rule created a vast mass of landless peasants The movements of the landless for tenancy rights and against exploitation, and movements of peasants began to surface. The industrial working class became socially significant later — in the twentieth century

The British conquest thus had a far-reaching impact on the Indian society. It was as a result of this impact and as a reaction to it that the people of India started examining their social set-up in order to reform it and to lay the foundations of modernization The nineteenth century saw the rise of a series of religious and social reform movements. They paved the way for the growth of national consciousness and a national movement aiming at the independence of the country and reconstruction of society.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

Social and religious reform movements arose among all communities of the Indian people In religion, they attacked bigotry, superstition and the hold of the priestly class. In social life, they aimed at the abolition of castes, child marriage and other legal and social inequalities

Rammohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj

Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) was the central figure in the awakening of modern India. Basing himself on a rational and scientific approach and the principle of human dignity and social equality, he was

Raja Rammohan Roy

the first to take the lead in the direction of social reform and had been called the 'father of modern India'. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Persian and English and knew Arabic as well as Latin and Greek. He had mastered ancient Indian and European philosophy as well as the ideas of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, and combined in himself all that was best in the philosophies of the East and the West. Deeply devoted to the work of religious and social reform, he founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828.

In religion, he condemned polytheism and idol worship, and propagated the concept of 'one God of all religions and humanity'. His religious ideas had assimilated elements from Islam, Christianity, the Upanishads and modern European liberal philosophy. He advocated a rational approach to religion and advised people to read the scriptures themselves and not depend on the intermediary brahmanas. For this purpose, he translated ancient Indian works on religion and philosophy into Bengali.

Rammohan Roy attacked the caste system. He campaigned to persuade the government to abolish *sati* and child marriage. He stood for equal rights for women, advocated the right of widows to marry and the right of women to property. He stood for modern education and the introduction of English education for the propagation of science in India. All his efforts were devoted to the spread of modern knowledge and to the modernization of Indian society. He justified his views not merely on the basis of ancient scriptures but by the light of reason and humanitarian principles and was prepared to break with tradition. He had imbibed the humanitarian ideas of the 'age of reason'. For example, he said, "If mankind are brought into existence, and by nature formed to enjoy the comforts of society and the pleasure of an improved mind, they may be justified in opposing any system, religious, domestic or political, which is inimical to the happiness of society, or calculated to debase the human intellect". He was an internationalist and supported the cause of freedom everywhere. When the uprising in Naples to unify Italy failed in 1821, he cancelled all his social engagements. He celebrated the success of the 1830 Revolution in France and condemned the conditions of people who were suffering under British rule in Ireland.

The work started by Rammohan Roy was continued by the organization he had built—the Brahmo Samaj. The Samaj was

the first attempt by Indians in the nineteenth century to reform Hindu society. It did signal work in the field of removal of caste distinctions and improving the condition of women, particularly widows Although there were many dissensions in the Samaj, it won a large number of adherents and became an important influence in the life of Bengal Under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen, the work of the Samaj expanded throughout the country and as many as 124 institutions were set up in different parts of India

Another outstanding reformer in Bengal was Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91). A scholar of great depth, he dedicated himself to the cause of the emancipation of women It was due to his efforts that legal obstacles to the marriage of widows were removed through a law in 1856. He played a leading role in promoting education of girls and started and helped the setting up of a number of schools for girls. Vidyasagar was also the leading figure in promoting modern Bengali language and prepared primers for teaching it.

Spread of the Reform Movements

Similar movements soon started in other parts of the country. After Bengal the most important region where the movement for reforms spread was western India. The most significant activities of the various organizations in western India were in the field of women's education, widow remarriage, raising the age of marriage, condemnation of caste barriers and idolatry In 1867, the Prarthana Samaj was founded in Bombay The social and religious reform activities of the Prarthana Samaj were similar to those of the Brahmo Samaj Many national leaders like Mahadev Govinda Ranade (1842-1901) joined it.

Ranade was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, but his greatest passion was social reform As a judge in Poona, he took an active part in the activities of the Sarvajanik Sabha which was a leading organization for mobilizing public opinion. An all India organization, the Indian Social Conference was formed in 1887. Ranade was the soul of the Conference and served as its General Secretary for 14 years Under Ranade's leadership, the Conference worked as a secular organization and campaigned for various reforms aiming at modernization of Indian society. Some of the demands of the Conference were the abolition of caste, intercaste marriages, raising of the marriageable age, discouragement of polygamy, widow remarriage, women's education, improvement in the condition of the so-called outcastes, and settlement of religious disputes between Hindus and Muslims by the appointment of Panchayats. Ranade was a great intellectual and took a broad view of the problems. He was convinced that the nation needed to progress in all spheres of life — social, educational, political and economic. He said. "You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges, unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and grovelling, you cannot succeed in the social, economic or political spheres This inter-dependence is not an accident but is the law of our nature" Under his leadership, the work of social reform was made more broad-based and was extended all over the country.

The leading role in the awakening of the

oppressed castes in Maharashtra was played by Jotirao Govindrao Phule. He was popularly known as Mahatma Jotiba Phule He questioned the supremacy of the brahmanas and the authority of the scriptures. In 1873, he organized the Satyashodhak Samaj to mobilize the so-called lower castes and other oppressed sections in a movement for equality, and played a leading role in the spread of education of girls, particularly of the oppressed castes. Similar movements arose in other parts of the country Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919) pioneered the movement in support of widow remarriage and girls' education in Andhra. Shri Narayana Guru (1854-1928) led the movement against caste oppression in Kerala In 1903 he founded the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP) to carry on the work of social reform, the awakening of the oppressed castes and to promote among the people fraternity without distinctions of caste and religion

The Arya Samaj

Another movement to reform Hindu society was started by Dayanand Saraswati He founded the Arya Samaj in 1875. Dayanand was born in a brahmana family of Kathiawar and at a very early age rebelled against idol worship At the age of 22, he ran away from home. He turned to the Vedas for reforming Hinduism His most important work *Satyartha Prakash* was published in 1879. He had met the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj and had become familiar with their ideas. He attacked child marriage as being contrary to the Vedas In his book, he also denounced other established religions. According to Dayanand, the Vedas were infallible and Hinduism should be purified by returning to the Vedas. The achievements of the Arya Samaj in the field of social and religious reform were significant and perhaps more than those of other contemporary reform movements. The influence of the Brahmo Samaj was limited to mainly the intelligentsia. Some other reformers mentioned earlier questioned the authority of the scriptures Because of its emphasis on the infallibility of the Vedas and its condemnation of other religions, it is said that the Arya Samaj encouraged revivalist tendencies and was, in its thinking, not so forward-looking in some respects as some other reform movements of the nineteenth century.

The Arya Samaj repudiated the authority of the brahmanas and condemned a number of religious rites and idol worship It opposed the existing caste system as it was based on heredity, though it was not opposed to the caste system as such. It advocated equal rights for men and women However, the greatest achievements of the Arya Samaj was in the field of education A large number of schools and colleges were started, both for boys and girls, all over the country. The medium of instruction in the schools was Hindi, and English was compulsory in the higher classes. The influence of Arya Samaj was most felt in the Punjab where its work in spreading education to all sections and in ridding Hindus of many superstitions was particularly notable.

Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna Mission

Ramakrishna Paramhamsa had a tremendous influence on the Hindus. He was a saint who popularized Vedantic philosophy, mysticism and the path of devotion to God His greatest disciple was Swami Vivekananda (1861-1902). He believed in reviving all the best traditions of Hinduism and not merely the Vedas. After the death of Ramakrishna, he founded the

Ramakrishna Mission to propagate the teachings of his master. The Mission established several educational institutions in the country. During his tour of America, he argued that Vedanta was the religion of all and not of the Hindus alone. Though religion was his mission in life, he was keenly interested in the improvement of all aspects of national life. He expressed his concern for the condition of the people and said that neglect of the masses is a sin. He was impressed by the economic prosperity of the West and the status women enjoyed there Vivekananda combined in him dynamism and nationalism and greatly influenced the younger generation to take pride in their country

Annie Besant and the Theosophical Society

The theosophical movement was introduced by Madame Blavatsky in India in 1882 with its headquarters at Adyar in Madras. The supporters of the theosophical movement claimed that theosophy embodied in itself the truths which underlay all religions. Annie Besant came to India in 1893 and became the leader of the movement In the beginning, she devoted herself to the revival of Hindu religion with its philosophy, rituals and modes of worship Though her ideas were used by those who were opposed to social reforms in their conflict with the reformers, they helped to impart to the educated Indians a sense of pride in their own country Her activities in the field of education were more significant She founded the Central Hindu College at Banaras which she later handed over to Banaras Hindu University. The headquarters of the society at Adyar became a centre of knowledge with a library of rare Sanskrit books.

Annie Besant later threw herself into the work of social reform and politics. She organized the Home Rule League during the First World War After her detention, she became President of the Congress in 1917 Although the theosophical movement did not enjoy mass popularity, its work under the leadership of Annie Besant for the awakening of the Indian people was remarkable. She wrote: "The needs of India are, among others, the development of a national spirit, an education founded on Indian ideals and enriched, not dominated, by the thought and culture of the West". She thus contributed a great deal to the development of the national spirit of India.

Other Reform Movements

The movements for religious and social reform arose in other communities and other parts of the country. The reform movements in the Muslim community began in the later half of the nineteenth century. These movements developed late among Muslims because the Muslim middle class came later and was weak. The British conquest had dispossessed most of the Muslim jagirdars. These jagirdars could not reconcile themselves to the new situation and shied away from modern education Many Muslims were skilled workers and were ruined as a result of the economic impact of British conquest. In the Revolt of 1857, the Muslim masses and religious leaders fought against the British. After the Revolt was crushed, the British government took repressive measures against Muslims and regarded them as its enemies, holding them responsible for the Revolt. The British government followed a deliberate anti-Muslim policy and discriminated against them. It also promoted feelings of separateness among them. The remaining

Muslim jagirdars were feudal in outlook They lived their lives in the old way, unmindful of the changes that were taking place.

After the Revolt, the need for modernization was increasingly felt by the Muslim community and resulted in the rise of a number of movements. Most of these movements were concerned with imparting modern English education to the Muslim community, campaigning against polygamy and the purdah system and reinterpreting religion in the light of modern ideas Some of these movements devoted themselves to political opposition to the British government. In many ways, they helped in awakening the people to the need for change.

The beginning was made in Bengal by Nawab Abdul Latif He founded the Mohammedan Literary Society in Calcutta in 1863 for advocating the learning of the English language and modern sciences. The society started a number of educational institutions throughout Bengal. Soon, however, more widespread movements arose which greatly influenced the Muslim community

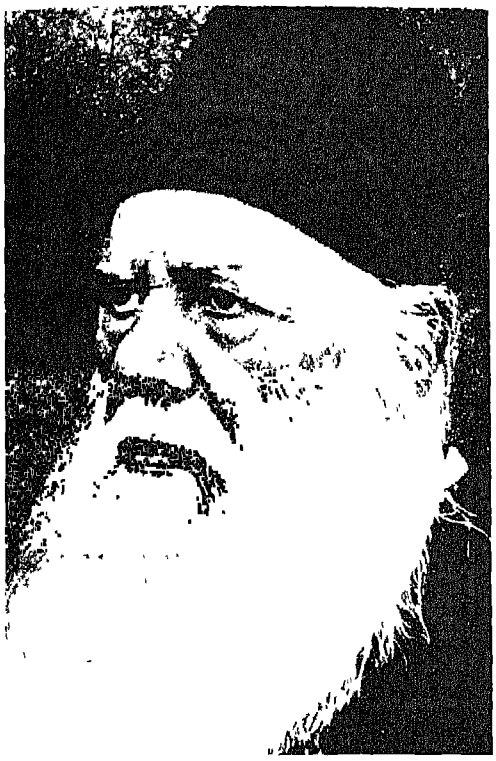
Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement

The most influential movement of reform was started by Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-99). Generally known as Sir Syed, he had been in the service of the British government and, like many contemporary reformers, was a supporter of the British rule. He wanted to remove the bitter enmity between Muslims and the British government, to interpret Islam and bring it in conformity with modern science and philosophy, and to persuade Muslims to receive modern education and enter the services. In the beginning, he devoted himself mainly to theological questions, re-interpreting Islam and stressing the humanitarianism of Islam In 1862 he founded the Scientific Society to translate and publish scientific works in Urdu to familiarize the people with modern science. His crowning achievement was the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875 which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University It was because of this that the movement of reform started by Sir Syed is known as the Aligarh Movement. Aligarh Muslim University became one of the most important breeding grounds of new trends in the political, social and cultural life of the Muslims.

In his educational and literary activities, Sir Syed had served all the people of India Various organizations, including Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, expressed their gratitude for the work he did. However, he insisted on the cooperation of the Muslims with the British government and looked at all political movements with distrust. Thus when the Indian National Congress was formed, he opposed it. He regarded 'education and education alone as the means of national progress'.

His opposition to the Congress shocked other Muslim leaders who, beginning with moderate reform activities, had joined the Indian National Congress and were working for the building up of a secular movement for national regeneration. One of the reasons for his attitude was his belief that in view of the backwardness of the Muslim community, the Muslim interests would be harmed if they stared taking part in political agitation.

Another reason was the extreme upper-class attitude On the Congress demand



Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

for having elected representatives in the Provincial Legislative Councils and for holding civil service examinations in India (which were then held in England), he said: "You will see that, in one of the necessary conditions of sitting at the same table with the Viceroy, the person concerned should have a high social status in the country. Will the members of noble families in our country like it that a person of lower class or low status even if he had taken the B.A or M.A. degree and possessed the necessary ability, should govern them and dispose of their wealth, property and honour ? Never".

In spite of these limitations, Sir Syed was, more than any other leader, responsible for awakening the Muslims to the realities of the modern world and preparing them to meet the challenge He regarded Hindus and Muslims to be one *Qaum* and, using the term in the sense of 'nation', said, "For ages the word *Qaum* has been used for people of a country though they may consist of distinct groups O, Hindus and Muslims ! are you the residents of any other country but India? Surely you live and die on the same land Remember that Hindus and Muslims are religious terms. Otherwise, Hindus, Muslims and Christians who live in this country are by virtue of this fact one *Qaum*. Now, when all these groups are called one *Qaum*, they should act as such for the common good of the country which is good for all of them "

Other Muslim Reform Movements

There were many other movements which in one way or the other helped the national awakening of the Muslims. Mirza Ghulam Ahmed had founded the Ahmediya Movement in 1899. Under this movement, a number of schools and colleges were opened all over the country, imparting modern education In religion, it emphasized the universal and humanitarian character of Islam and wanted the establishment of cordial relations by its members with people of all communities.

Another important movement is associated with the centre of a religious school at Deoband near Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh It was founded by some Ulema, the Muslim theologians, and their followers who had fought against the British rule in 1857. It was also a centre of political revolt against the British rule, and imparted to its students love for political freedom. When Sir Syed advised Muslims to keep away from the Congress and join

the pro-government Patriotic Association, about 100 Ulema from all over the country and even from Medina and Baghdad issued a *fatwa* forbidding Muslims to join the Association and permitting them to join the Congress The Deoband school and many similar movements kept alive the spirit of freedom.

There were other more thorough-going movements of social reform amongst the Muslims. These movements worked for the emancipation of women, combated the system of purdah, polygamy and child-marriage These movements were particularly strong in western and southern India Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906) was the most outstanding leader of these movements. He was the first Indian bar-at-law to start practice in the Bombay High Court. Along with other social reformers and national leaders, he was active in the Indian Social Conference of which you have read before. He joined Pherozeshah Metha and others in founding the Bombay Presidency Association to promote common national interests He was one of the founders of the Congress and its third President.

There were many other leaders belonging to various communities who played an important part in the awakening of Indian society. Behramji Malabari and Pandita Ramabai were two other outstanding leaders who played a leading role in movements for women's uplift. There were reform movements among Parsis initiated by Nauroji Furdonji and Dadabhai Naoroji. The Singh Sabhas played a leading role in the spread of education among Sikhs. Later, a powerful movement arose among the Sikhs to put an end to the control of the Gurudwaras by corrupt Mahants.

In the twentieth century, when the nationalist movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi became a mass movement social reform became an integral part of the struggle for freedom.

Impact of the Reform Movements

As a result of these movements, significant advances were made in the field of emancipation of women. Some legal measures were introduced to elevate their status. The practice of *sati* and infanticide were made illegal. In 1856, a law was passed permitting widow remarriage. Another law, passed in 1860, raised the marriageable age of girls to ten which was a significant advance in those days. Many superstitions also began to disappear. At the close of the century, it was no longer considered sinful to travel to foreign countries and expiatory rituals for being accepted back in the community were no longer thought necessary on one's return.

The reform movements that grew differed from each other in many ways, but they all helped in awakening the people to the need for change. Most of these movements, as you have seen, were religious in character and appealed to one's own religious community. This is understandable. As most of the social evils had become associated with religious practices, these social reform movements had inevitably to be religious as well

The reform movements contributed a great deal to the birth of Indian nationalism. These were country-wide movements influencing people everywhere and not just in isolated areas. The reform activities united people and the attack on institutions like caste which hampered social unity created a sense of oneness in the people. Therefore, they played an important role in the rise of nationalism.

But most of these reform movements

had certain limitations The questions to which they gave primacy concerned only small sections of Indian society Some of them also failed to emphasize or even recognize that colonial rule was basically inimical to the interests of the Indian people. Most of them also worked within the framework of their respective communities and, in a way, tended to promote identities based on religion or caste. Many of these limitations were sought to be overcome during the course of the national movement with which many social and religious reformers were closely associated. Indian nationalism aimed at the regeneration of the entire Indian society irrespective of caste and community. It was no longer necessary to confine the movement of social reform to one's own community. The nationalist movement tackled all social evils on a national basis and did not deal with them community-wise.

The awareness of the exploitative nature of the colonial rule also began to emerge in the later half of the nineteenth century. A pioneer in this regard was Dadabhai Naoroji, who has been referred to in connection with the reform movement in the Parsi community. He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and was thrice its President He was the first Indian to be elected to British Parliament. He influenced the economic thinking of the intelligentsia through his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.* In this book, he exposed the disastrous consequences of British rule on Indian economy. His theory of the British drain of Indian wealth provided the basis of the campaign against British rule. He was loved and respected by the people as the Grand Old Man of India Besides Dadabhai Naoroji, the other leaders who played a prominent role in promoting an awareness of the economic exploitation of India by the British were M.G. Ranade, G V Joshi and R.C Dutt

GROWTH OF EDUCATION

As you have already read, almost all reform movements aimed at the spread of modern education in India because of the part it played in the modernization of society.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, the government of the East India Company followed a policy of indifference in the matter of education, which was not regarded as a part of the responsibility of a commercial company The traditional educational system consisted of small *pathshalas* and *madrasas* in temples and mosques and was confined, besides teaching the three R's, mainly to religious education This system suffered a decline under British rule The first efforts at imparting modern education were made by Christian missionaries and individual officers of the Company. The missionaries opened schools and started printing presses They printed many books. Though they aimed primarily at the spread of Christianity through their educational institutions, they did much pioneering work in the spread of modern education

Beginnings of Modern Education

Many Indians had started realizing that modern education was necessary to meet the challenge of modern times. They put pressure on the government to start educational institutions. Some advance was made with the help of individual government officials and other Europeans. One of the most important achievements was the

founding of the Hindu College at Calcutta in 1817 Rammohan Roy was associated with the founding of this college along with many liberal Europeans like David Hare. It created a new intellectual climate in Calcutta and was the centre of the most radical movement of the time called the Young Bengal Movement. The leading personality in this movement was Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a Portuguese-Indian youth. He joined the Hindu College as a teacher of philosophy in 1826 at the young age of 17. A whole generation of youth came under his influence and learned to think for itself in a rational and scientific way He instilled in his students love for independent thinking, liberty and patriotism. He was a poet and expressed his love for India in his poetry.

He was removed from the staff of the college for preaching atheism and, soon after, died. His life symbolized the new intellectual atmosphere which was developing as a result of the beginning of modern education. Indian students were becoming familiar with the revolutionary ideas of the French philosophers and the democratic thought of other countries of Europe. Many Indians had also started schools and colleges for imparting modern education.

The British Government's Educational Policy

The British government, however, was the chief agency in spreading modern education after the initial indifference. One of the reasons for the change was the need for educated Indians in minor administrative posts. With the consolidation of the British rule, the work of administration had increased and it was not possible to get people from England for all jobs People to man minor jobs in administration, commercial work and industries were needed Lawyers, doctors, teachers, and other professional people were also required. To meet all these requirements, it was necessary to impart English education to some Indians The zeal of many British administrators in spreading European culture, which they considered superior to all other, also played a part in the decision to introduce English education. In this, they were supported by many Indians like Rammohan Roy who realized the importance of English education as a means of bringing modern knowledge to the people of India.

The first step by the government was taken in 1813 when it was decided to set apart a sum of 'not less than one lakh of rupees' for education. This immediately led to the controversy between two groups called the Anglicists and the Orientalists The Anglicists led by Macaulay advocated the teaching of western learning with English as the medium of education Some Orientalists advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic learning, and others wanted the teaching of modern knowledge through local languages. The government ultimately decided in favour of the Anglicists and clearly stated that 'all of the funds be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language'. Soon after, the use of Persian in the courts of law was discontinued and the government started giving preference to English-knowing candidates for government jobs.

The traditional educational system of the country had suffered as a result of British conquest. This system had assured at least the knowledge of the three R's to a

large number of people. The British government, however, did not take any responsibility to spread education to the people Consequently, primary education was neglected.

The next advance came in 1854 with what is known as the Wood's Dispatch. Under this Dispatch, the government undertook to pay more attention to the spread of education. Local languages along with English were made the media of instruction at the school stage and English at the college stage The aim of education as stated by the Dispatch was the spread of western culture; it would seek to foster and promote loyalty to the State among Indian students and prepare them for administrative responsibilities.

It was only towards the end of the century that significant advances took place in the spread of education. By then, the role of Indians themselves in opening educational institutions became important. The Deccan Education Society was established in Bombay and did useful work. The activities of many reformers in the field of education, including the education of women, have already been mentioned

Influence of Education

In spite of the activities of the missionaries, the British government and Indians and their organizations, education remained confined to a small minority of people Primary education was neglected and this, combined with the decline of the traditional system of education, led to illiteracy of the vast majority of the Indian population. The promoters of English education had hoped at creating a class of Indians who would be English in their thinking and habits. However, although English education created a hiatus between the English educated and the rest of the population, it brought Indians into close contact with rational and scientific ideas and with science and technology Even though it was done to train people for minor administrative jobs, it facilitated the growth of knowledge and the spread of the ideas of democracy, nationalism and, in the twentieth century, socialism. Another important change was that it was not confined to any one caste or sect. It was open to all. However, English education was not an unmixed blessing The educational system was not designed to promote thinking in the interest of the Indian people and tended to create a group of people who felt themselves to be different and a class apart from the rest of society.

Rediscovery of the Past

Modern education, in course of time, evoked interest in the correct understanding of India's past Attempts were made to rediscover and re-study the past of India to enhance the understanding of the present. Laudable efforts were made by many European scholars and enlightened government officials in this direction. The first significant beginning was made by William Jones who came to India in 1783 and founded the Asiatic Society in 1784. The aim of the Society was 'enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia.' The Society built up a rich collection of old manuscripts in various languages and published the learned *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* William Jones himself translated Kalidasa's *Abhijnanashakuntalam* Many other ancient works like the *Bhagavad Gita,* the Upanishads, the Dharmashastras and the Vedas were translated. Useful work was done on ancient Indian history. James

Prinsep, for example, discovered the clue to the inscriptions of Ashoka which led to the discovery of the achievements of that great emperor. Ancient scripts were deciphered and the study of the ancient inscriptions opened new horizons for the study of Indian history and civilization. Preservation of ancient monuments, paintings and sculpture started, and a proper appreciation of Indian art began The study of Sanskrit was taken up on scientific lines Scholars from many other countries of Europe, notably Germany and France, were attracted to the study of the ancient art, history and philosophy of India.

To rule India, the British government felt that the knowledge of Indian history society, religions and culture was necessary. Thus the government encouraged the study of Indian institutions and many European scholars and government officials wrote books on Indian society and history. Some of these works were tendentious and tried to show that the Indian past was one of misery, and British rule, 'a blessing' to the Indian people. They also fostered dissensions between the Hindus and the Muslims

Much of the new knowledge about India's past gave a sense of pride to the Indian people and helped in their awakening. Many Indian scholars took up the study of Indian history and culture in a systematic way and the appreciation of India from a specifically Indian point of view began. Although some of this led to glorification of everything ancient, it helped Indians regain pride and confidence in themselves and prepared them for the struggle for national independence and reconstruction that lay ahead

Modern Indian Art and Literature

Although Indian languages were subordinated to the study of English by the British government, their growth was stimulated under the impact of modern ideas. Modern Indian languages which had started growing about a thousand years earlier had become mature and fecund. These languages were further enriched in the nineteenth century Writers ventured forth into new literary forms and modes such as the novel and the drama. The new development was not merely in the use of new forms but also in content Novel and drama became increasingly concerned with current problems. Even historical novels and dramas were written with an eye on the present. *Neel Darpan*, the first Bengali political drama, presented the story of the brutality of the English indigo planters. It was banned by the British government. Mythology was increasingly replaced by social and realistic literature In poetry also there was a change It was no longer confined to devotional songs, and increasingly adopted secular and national themes. New literature came more and more to be related to the rising national consciousness. By the twentieth century, new forms of literature became fully developed and played an important part in revolutionizing popular attitudes.

There was a revival in the art of painting The traditions of Ajanta and of the Mughal and Pahari paintings which had been forgotten were revived and developed Later, trends in art appeared which were largely influenced by contemporary Western styles. The developments in art and literature contributed to the growth of modern culture

Growth of the Press in the Nineteenth Century

The Press is an important integrating force in society. It keeps people living in one part

informed of the developments in other parts of the country It is an important medium for the dissemination of information on various problems. It is also a means to mobilize public opinion on important issues of the day. It is a great help in the campaigns for social reform and to influence activities of the state. It can be used as a forum for the expression of popular opinion on matters of public interest.

In India, the growth of the Press started early in the nineteenth century and played an important part in the awakening of the people.

The first newspaper in India was the *Bengal Gazette* started in 1780 However, the real development of the Press came early in the nineteenth century Rammohan Roy started two papers, *Sambad-Kaumudi* in Bengali and *Miratul-Akbar* in Persian, which were devoted to propagating the case for social reform. Many other national leaders and social reformers were also associated with the growth of the press in India. Dadabhai Naoroji edited *Rast Goftar*, and Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar started *Shome Prakash*. In 1890, an English weekly, the *Indian Social Reformer*, was started in Bombay to propagate social reforms.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, many English dailies were started; many of these are still among the popular newspapers in India like the *Times of India* started in 1861, the *Pioneer* in 1865, the *Madras Mail* in 1865, the *Statesman* in 1875. These papers usually supported the British government's policies. There were other dailies which voiced Indian opinion like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* started in Bengal in 1868 and the *Hindu* started in Madras in 1878 There were many newspapers and journals in Indian languages also By the end of the nineteenth century, about 500 newspapers and journals in Indian languages and English were published in different parts of the country. With the growth of the national movement, the Indian Press also grew and played an important part in rousing the national consciousness of the people. The bi-weekly *Kesari*, a Marathi journal, started by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was one such journal

The British government passed many Acts from time to time to introduce censorship over the Indian Press. In the twentieth century when the nationalist Press grew stronger, the freedom of the Press was further curtailed However, in spite of the suppression, the Press played the role of awakening the people to the need for reform, helped in the dissemination of knowledge and became one of the instruments in the growth of nationalism.

The social and religious reform movements were an expression of the awakening of the Indian people. Education, in spite of its limited nature, promoted awareness of new ideas and of the world and nurtured ideas for reconstruction of India. The rediscovery of India's past and the growth of new literature were an expression of the awakening consciousness and contributed to its further growth. All these changes were an expression of the national awakening of India and contributed to its further development. Nationalism came to embody the aspirations of the Indian people for independence and a new order based on democracy and social equality. You will read about this in the next chapter.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1 Explain the meaning of the following terms Domestic System, Anglicists, Orientalists, *Sati*, Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari System
2 With which organizations were the following persons associated ?
M G. Ranade, Rammohan Roy, Derozio, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dayanand Saraswati, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Badruddin Tyabji, Vivekananda, Annie Besant, Nawab Abdul Latif, Keshab Chandra Sen, Jotiba Phule, Sri Narayana Guru
3 What were the new social classes that arose in India after the British conquest ?
4. Describe the social ills against which the social reform movements were directed.
5 What were the points of controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists ?
6 Describe the main phases in the spread of modern education in India in the nineteenth century What were the agencies which helped in the spread of English education in the same period ?
7 Name some newspapers which were started in the nineteenth century and which are coming out even today.

Things to Do

1. Arrange the various organizations of social reform in order of their formation and list important leaders associated with each
2 Write an essay on the life and work of Rammohan Roy.
3 In a scrap book collect pictures and sayings of the leaders of the social reform movements

Things to Think about and Discuss

1 What do you understand by the term 'modernization' ? In what respects was Indian society not 'modern' in the early nineteenth century ?
2 Do you think it was necessary or desirable to mix religion with the work of social reform ? Why ? Or why not ?
3 How far, in your opinion, were the movements of social reform effective in ridding Indian society of social evils ? What social evils do you think need to be combated today ?
4 Did modern education help in the awakening of India ? Discuss.
5 Read Parts III and IV of the Constitution of India on the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy How far have these two parts imbibed and carried forward the aims of the nineteenth century reformers ?

CHAPTER 16

India's Struggle for Independence

THE heroic struggle waged by the people of India to liberate themselves from foreign rule was the result of the rise and growth of Indian nationalism. Indian nationalism took birth in the nineteenth century as a result of the conditions created by British rule. British rule was intended only to serve the interests of the ruling classes of Britain. This was the cause of the fundamental antagonism between the British government and the Indian people

The rise of nationalism marks a definite stage in the development of human societies everywhere in the world The British conquest had disrupted the evolution of Indian society through internal processes. Nationalism, therefore, arose in India, as in other countries which were victims of imperialist conquest, under conditions created by foreign rule. With the growth of nationalism, the demands of the Indian people assumed an increasingly nationalist character Beginning with the demand to have a share in administration, it developed into the struggle for complete independence. The character of the struggle was also gradually transformed. Beginning with constitutional agitation by small sections of educated people, it gradually turned into a revolutionary struggle, peaceful though not constitutional, of the overwhelming majority of the people of India. Besides being a struggle for political independence, it also became a struggle for the reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of democracy and social equality

THE REVOLT OF 1857

The people in different parts of India, right from the beginning of the British conquest, never acquiesced in their political subjection. Not a year passed without an armed resistance to British rule in one part of the country or the other. Some of these revolts were those of the Sanyasis in Bengal and Bihar (1763 onwards), of the peasants (Midnapur in 1766, Rangpur in 1783, Mysore in 1830-31, Khandesh in 1852), of the chiefs and other landed sections (for example, those of the Poligars of Ramnathapuram, Sivaganga and other places during 1795-1805, of Velu Thambi in Travancore in 1808-09, of Rani Chinnamma of Kittur during 1824-29, etc), and of the tribal people (notably of the Bhils during 1817-31, the Kols during 1820-37, the Khasis under U Tirot Singh during 1829-33, the Santhals during 1855-56, etc.) There were also mutinies, for example, at Vellore in 1806 All these revolts were, however, sporadic and localized and though some of them lasted many years, they did not pose

a serious challenge to British rule. The greatest of the revolts, which shook the very foundations of British rule, occurred in 1857

The revolt began at Meerut on 10 May 1857, with the uprising of Indian sepoys of the British armies in India. It was the result of accumulated resentment, which had been growing since the beginning of British conquest, but was triggered off by the greased cartridges incident In fact the causes were much deeper than this

You have read in the previous chapter about the social and economic consequences of British rule Peasants had been dispossessed of their lands and artisans had been ruined. The British policy of annexation of territory had led to the dispossession of many Indian rulers. As a result of these, discontent was widespread Dalhousie, who came to India as the Governor-General, annexed eight new states in the course of eight years of his stay in office There was also a fear in the minds of many people that the British government was out to forcibly convert them to Christianity. That the British government paid scant regard to the religious beliefs of the Indian people is clear from the use of the greased cartridges Thus the British government had alienated vast numbers of people -- common people as well as former rulers-- and the resentment had been building up for some time. Lord Metcalfe, who was the Governor-General in 1835-36, had written:

All India is at all time looking out for our downfall The people everywhere would rejoice, or fancy they would rejoice, at our destruction. And members are not wanting who would promote it by all means in their power ' A little over 20 years after, the revolt broke out.

The revolt soon spread over northern, central and eastern India. The rebels declared Bahadur Shah II, the nominal Mughal king, the Emperor of Hindustan Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against the British The deeds of valour of rebels, like the Rani of Jhansi, Maulvi Ahmadulla, Kanwar Singh, Bakht Khan and Tantia Tope, have become proud legends and have inspired the later generations

The revolt was suppressed after bitter fighting for over a year, though peace was not restored until 1859 The British rulers followed a ruthless and indiscriminate policy of vengeance Thousands of people were hanged in Delhi, Lucknow and other places The inhuman reprisals of the British government provoked resentment even in England Many Englishmen protested against the barbarities of the British rulers and expressed their sympathy and support for the Indian people The revolt and its cruel suppression left a legacy of bitterness and hatred amongst the people of India.

The revolt marked a turning point in the history of India The rule of the East India Company came to an end and the control passed to the British Crown. The British government promised not to annex any more Indian states The Indian states accepted the paramountcy of the British government and became loyal allies of the British rule

The revolt made the Indian people more politically conscious than before. The movements of social reform and modernization had already started. These movements gathered momentum The hold of the Indian princes on the Indian people declined and it was increasingly realized that national independence would be attained through a movement of the people themselves and not under the leadership of the

old rulers of India. The struggle against the rulers of Indian states itself became a part of the national struggle for independence. The most valuable legacy of the revolt was the memory of a united struggle. Soon India was to witness the growth of the nationalist movement aiming at national independence, democracy, social equality and national development.

RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM EARLY PHASE 1858-1905

Nationalism is a phenomenon which appeared in world history after the close of the Middle Ages. You have read in Chapter 6 (Vol I) about the rise of the first nation-states in Europe Nationalism, as you have seen, was the result of new social and economic forces, which had put an end to feudalism Nation-states had begun to be formed with definite boundaries, with a definite political system within these boundaries, with the uniformity of laws and with the people inhabiting the state living under the same political, social and economic system and sharing common aspirations. The middle class had played a significant role in the formation of nation-states. In many countries of Europe, like Italy and Germany, nationalism emerged as a powerful force only in the nineteenth century. The French Revolution of 1789 had added a new element to the phenomenon of nationalism. It identified the nation with the people This meant that, in a nation, the people were sovereign. Wherever, after 1800 or so, new sovereign states have been called into existence or wherever existing states have experienced a violent or abrupt change of political order, they were best explained as conjunction of these two forces at work —nationalism and democracy.

The growth of Indian nationalism started in the nineteenth century. Political unification of the country, destruction of India's old social and economic system, the beginning of modern trade and industry and the rise of new social classes laid the basis of nationalism. The social and religious reform movements and popular anti-British revolts contributed to the growth of nationalism.

British rule was inimical to the interests of almost all sections of Indian society The peasants were suffering under the new land-tenure systems introduced by the British. The Indian industrialists were not happy because of the economic policy of the British government. For example, all import duties on cotton textiles were removed in 1882 which harmed the nascent Indian textile industry The educated people suffered because they were discriminated against. Almost all sections of Indian society realized that their interests were antagonistic to British rule. The people of India became aware of the fact that the development of their country was not possible unless British rule was ended All these factors forged the people of India into a nation, and thus consciousness expressed itself in the struggle for national independence

Several other factors helped in the growth of national consciousness amongst Indian people The exploitation of India by the British rulers and the dislocation caused by their policies worsened the condition of the already impoverished masses. There was a series of famines, which took a toll of millions of human lives, due to the indifference of the autocratic British administration. The British government made use of Indian resources to pursue its imperialist

aims in other parts of Asia. The Governor-General (now also the Viceroy) was the supreme authority in the country, responsible only to British parliament thousands of miles away He was assisted by executive and legislative councils, which consisted of persons, mostly Englishmen, appointed by him. Indian people had no say in the administration of the country. The Indian Civil Service, which ran the administration of the country, also consisted mostly of Englishmen. Though Indians could appear for competitive examinations, it was difficult for them to get selected. The examinations were held in England and few could afford to appear for them

Another factor was the practice of racial discrimination. Before the revolt of 1857, many Englishmen, officials and others, were not averse to mixing socially with Indians. After the revolt, the feeling of racial superiority grew and everything Indian appeared inferior and barbaric to them There were exclusive clubs and railway coaches for Europeans where the entry of Indians was prohibited As Jawaharlal Nehru put it, "India as a nation and Indians as individuals were subjected to insult, humuliation and contemptuous treatment" The feeling of racial superiority may be seen from the failure of the Ilbert Bill in 1883. The bill sought to bring Indians and Europeans on par as far as the criminal jurisdiction of courts was concerned and to withdraw the privilege enjoyed by Europeans of being tried by a judge of their own race only The Europeans launched an agitation against the bill and it was withdrawn.

The British government consistently followed a policy of repression after 1857. Many measures of the government provoked widespread agitation Two of these were the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 and the Arms Act of 1879. The former Act imposed severe restrictions on the freedom of the Press and the latter forbade the possession of arms by Indians.

Thus, various factors contributed to the rise of the nationalist movement In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the movement started assuming an all-India form. Beginning with the demand for small concessions, the nationalist movement became a movement for complete independence of India The American War of Independence, the French Revolution, the wars of Italian unification and the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine and of Garibaldi and Mazzini (who were the leaders of the struggle for Italian unification) provided inspiration to Indian nationalists. In the twentieth century, the ideas of socialism and internationalism influenced them.

Early Political Movements and the Indian National Congress

A number of political organizations came into existence in the later half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1851, the British Indian Association was formed in Bengal to represent Indian grievances to the British government. In 1876, Surendranath Banerjea founded the Indian Association in Bengal Dadabhai Naoroji had started the Bombay Association. Some of the other associations were the Madras Native Association formed in 1852, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Madras Mahajana Sabha set up in 1870 and 1884, respectively Attempts were made to form an all-India organization. In 1883, Surendranath Banerjea called an All-India National Conference which was described by its President as the first step to a National Parliament. In 1885 was founded the Indian National Congress In the founding of

Surendranath Banerjea

the Congress, a retired English civil servant, A.O Hume, played an important part. The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, blessed the Congress. He thought the Congress would be a good forum for the government to keep itself 'informed regarding the best Indian public opinion.' Soon, however, the Congress was to become a revolutionary organization leading the Indian people to independence.

Even at the first session of the Congress, held in Bombay, under the Presidentship of W.C. Bonnerjee, all regions of India were represented. Persons attending the session belonged to different religious faiths. The problems that were discussed concerned all Indians, irrespective of their religion, caste, language and region Thus the Indian nationalist movement, which the Congress represented, was from the start, an all-India secular movement embracing every section of Indian society. It was attended by such eminent persons as Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, W.C Bonnerjee, G. Subramanya Aiyer, P. Ananda Charlu, Behramji Malabari and N.G. Chandavarkar.

The Congress followed a moderate programme during the first few years of its coming into existence. The aim of the Congress, as outlined by its President, W C. Bonnerjee, was to 'enable the workers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other' and to unite the people of India for common political ends irrespective of 'differences in respect of race and language, or social and religious institutions'. The Congress held its session once a year and passed resolutions for the consideration of the government. They demanded not independence but representative institutions. Some of the early demands of the Congress were for elected representatives in the provincial and central legislative councils, holding of the Indian Civil Service examinations in India and raising the minimum age of entry, the reduction of military expenditure, the spread of education, industrial development of India, relief in agricultural indebtedness, and the amendment of the Arms Act.

The leadership of the Congress, which included leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, M.G. Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, R.C. Dutt and Pherozeshah Mehta, had faith in the justness of their demands and in the British government

They believed that, as soon as the British government was convinced of the justness of their demands, these would be accepted. They wanted not separation but association with Britain Surendranath Banerjea, for example, said. "It is not severance that we look forward to but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire that has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions". However, criticism of the government gradually increased at the sessions of the Congress and more radical demands were made At the second session of the Congress, one speaker said, "Self-government is the arbiter of nature and the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be the arbiter of its destiny But do we govern ourselves? No Are we not living then in an unnatural state? Yes " With the growth of these radical ideas in the Congress, the government became hostile to it Government servants were barred from attending the Congress sessions Lord Dufferin referred to it contemptuously as representing a 'microscopic minority' and being unworthy of attention.

In the early period, the Congress was dominated by what were called 'moderates'. Its demands were primarily the demands of the educated middle class and rising Indian industrialists. However, it played an extremely significant role in the early stages of the growth of the Indian nationalist movement. Its emphasis on national unity, its criticism of the drain of Indian wealth, its demand for representative institutions and Indianization of services, its opposition to repressive measures like the Arms Act and its constant underscoring of people's poverty as the basic factor of Indian politics helped to put the nationalist movement on sound foundations This phase of the movement lasted till about 1905.

INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT 1905-1919

Even the moderate demands of the Congress were not accepted by British rulers. The non-fulfilment of demands, combined with the rising awareness among the people led to the growth of a radical wing in the Congress which advanced the movement further. A new phase began in the history of the Indian nationalist movement. New demands were made and new methods of struggle adopted with increased mass mobilization.

Rise of Extremism

At the turn of the century, a new trend developed which has been called 'extremism'. Under the influence of the new trend, the nationalist movement gave up the practice of merely issuing appeals to the government and adopted new radical ways of political agitation The demands put forward also assumed a more radical character. Several new factors contributed to this.

Curzon came to India as the new Viceroy in December 1898. During his period of Viceroyalty, he imposed extremely unpopular measures which intensified the opposition to British rule. He had said that he would assist in the 'peaceful demise' of the Congress. When he left India, the Congress and the nationalist movement were stronger than ever before and had, in fact, assumed new dimensions.

His most unpopular act was the partition of Bengal. The object of the measure was given out as administrative convenience The leaders could clearly see that it

was actually a measure to divide the people. East Bengal was to be a Muslim majority province and the West a Hindu majority province The partition was designed to disrupt Hindu-Muslim unity and thus weaken the nationalist movement. However, the effect of the measure belied the hopes of the British government. It provoked an agitation and such angry reaction against British rule that the partition measure had to be annulled.

International events also contributed to the growth of vigorous nationalism. Russia was defeated by Japan in 1905 This was the first victory of an Asian nation over an European nation. Although Japan herself was turning into an imperialist power and the war had been fought for imperialist gains in China, Japan's victory gave confidence to the Indian nationalists in their struggle against Britain The defeat of Russia was followed by the 1905 Revolution in Russia about which you have read. The revolution had aimed at the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy but had been suppressed. This revolution also influenced the thinking of Indian nationalists.

The group which led the 'extremists' in the Congress consisted of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. It was usually referred to as 'Lal Bal Pal'. They extolled the past of India in order to inculcate self-confidence and national pride in the Indian people. Tilak had been active in the Congress since 1890. In 1897 he was prosecuted and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for his 'seditious' writings and speeches. As you have read earlier, he had started a paper, *Kesari*, in Marathi through which he conducted his nationalist campaigns. He revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals and made use of them for arousing national

Dadabhai Naoroji

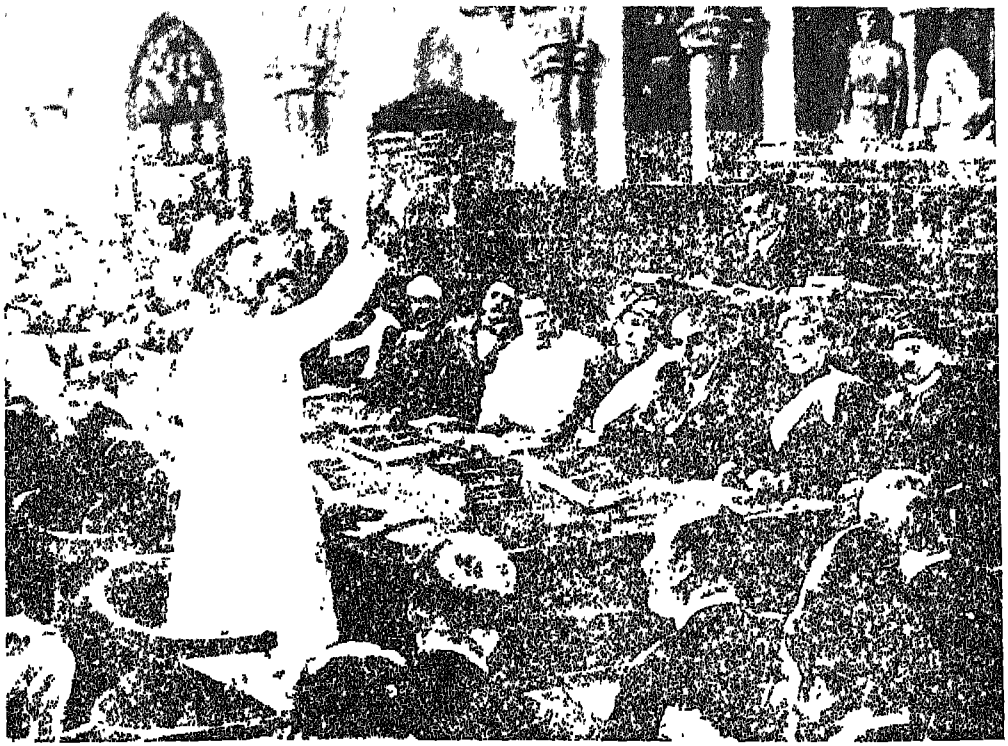
feelings He exhorted people to action which, according to him, was the true message of the *Bhagavad Gita*. In this period, the 'extremist' wing came to be more and more concerned with arousing pride in Indian culture. In Bengal, the cult of the goddess Kali was adopted. The 'extremists' condemned the old leadership of the Congress for their praise of Western culture and their faith in the British government.

There was a wide divergence between the views of the 'extremists' and the 'moderates' on the means to achieve political rights. Tilak summed up the difference thus: "Political rights will have to be fought for. The moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be got by strong pressure". The

'extremist' leaders drew masses into the struggle, particularly in urban areas The mobiliz tion of the people, particularly the youth, for the struggle was a major contribution of the 'extremists'.

The Boycott and Swadeshi Movements

The partition of Bengal created widespread indignation all over the country. In the turbulent atmosphere that followed, the boycott and the Swadeshi movements started. Swadeshi, literally meaning 'of one's own country', aimed at the promotion of indigenous industries. Along with Swadeshi, boycott of British goods was organized The Swadeshi and boycott were powerful instruments directed against foreign rule They attacked the British rule where it hurt most. About Swadeshi, Lajpat Rai said "I regard it as the salvation of my country The Swadeshi movement ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting and last, not least, manly. The Swadeshi movement ought to teach us how to organize our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents for the greatest good of all Indians irrespective of creed, colour or caste It ought to unite us, our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding. In my opinion, Swadeshi ought to be the common religion of the United India " On the boycott move-



Bal Gangadhar Tilak addressing the jury during his trial in 1908 — a painting. He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment at this trial

ment, he said, "The meaning of the boycott is this. . The primary thing is prestige of the government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige. The illusory thing they call prestige is more powerful and potent than authority itself and we propose to do this by boycott.. . We desire to turn away our faces from the Government House and turn them to the huts of people"

It was at the height of nation-wide protest movement against the partition of Bengal that the annual session of the Congress was held at Calcutta in 1906. At this session Dadabhai Naoroji sponsored the new programme of the Congress which had been advocated by the 'extremists'. Dadabhai's support for the stewardship of the programme led to its general approval. For the first time, it declared the attainment of Swaraj as the aim of the Congress. Swaraj or self-government was defined as the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies The Swadeshi and the boycott movements were favoured as the means of resistance. Promotion of national education was declared as an aim of the Congress.

The Swadeshi and boycott movements spread to many parts of the country. Shops selling foreign goods were picketed. Students played an important part in the Swadeshi and boycott movements. Meetings were held all over the country and associations were formed. The government resorted to repressive measures. Meetings were banned, the chanting of the national song *Bande Mataram* composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was prohibited, recognition was withdrawn from schools and grants were stopped, processionists were lathi-charged and various attempts were made to strike terror in the people. However, all the measures of oppression were of no avail. The popular upheaval was so intense that many people came to believe that the end of British rule was near. It was at this time that Tilak wrote: "Repression is repression; if it is legal, it must be resisted peacefully; but if it is illegal, it must be illegally met". He also gave Congress the slogan "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it" The movement continued into the year 1907. The nationalist newspapers were banned and their editors prosecuted. Many leaders were imprisoned.

In 1907, the 23rd session of the Congress was held at Surat. Here the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' came into conflict. The 'moderates' wanted to modify the resolutions on Swadeshi and boycott passed at the Calcutta session in the previous year. They also wanted to write into the constitution of the Congress a clause that self-government was to be achieved through constitutional means and by reforming the existing system of administration. They were opposed to the intensification of the movement. Tilak tried to capture the leadership of the Congress. There ensued disorderly scenes and the session broke up. The two groups later met separately. Leadership of the Congress remained in the hands of the 'moderate' group The 'extremists' worked separately until the reunion in 1916

Meanwhile the repressive measures of the government continued. The repression was particularly brutal in Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab and Tamil Nadu In 1907 the Seditious Meetings Act was passed to prevent the holding of meetings 'likely to promote disturbance of public tranquility'. In 1910, the Indian Press Act was passed which gave the authorities wide powers to punish the editor of any paper

'which published matter which in their view was incitement to rebellion'. The government deported people without trial under a century-old law. A number of papers were banned and leaders imprisoned and deported. Tilak was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and deported to Mandalay for two articles which he had published in his paper *Kesari*. His arrest was widely resented and led to one of the earliest strikes in the history of India by the textile workers of Bombay.

Thus in the first decade of the twentieth century, the nationalist movement entered a new phase More and more people were drawn into it, and they were no longer satisfied by appeals to the government. The association of religion with the movements in some places encouraged communal thinking and proved harmful.

Morley-Minto Reforms

In 1909, the government announced the Morley-Minto Reforms to conciliate the 'moderate' nationalists. In 1861, six non-official members had been added to the legislative council. The council had no powers and only considered matters which were referred to it The Indian members who were nominated were drawn from the families of princes and big landlords By the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the membership of the central and the provincial legislative councils was enlarged and non-official Indian members were added. As a result of the movement following the partition of Bengal, the Morley-Minto Reforms introduced further changes in 1909 As usual, the new measures were too little and too late The memberships of the central and provincial legislative councils were enlarged and a few more elected members were added However, the elected members were not popularly elected. They were elected by landlords and chambers of commerce. Separate electrorates were introduced for the Muslims. The introduction of separate electorates was a calculated move in accord with the imperialist policy of 'divide and rule'. Communalism was openly introduced into Indian political life.

The councils had no real powers and were not popularly elected bodies The 'moderate' leadership welcomed the reforms as constituting an advance but expressed 'its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorate on the basis of religion.' The reforms were condemned by the 'extremists'. Many Muslim leaders condemned the separate electorates. Gradually, even the 'moderate' leaders of the Congress realized the inadequacy and, in some respects, the harmful nature of the reforms. At the session of the Congress in 1909, one delegate said: "We protest against it because it means the partition of the whole living India, an affair much more serious than the partition of the boundaries of Bengal "

The reforms were not meant to be a step in the direction of self-government for Indians. Morley, Secretary of State, who had framed the reforms along with Minto, the Governor-General who had succeeded Curzon, disclaimed any intention of bestowing self-government on India. He said that if these reforms 'led directly or indirectly to the establishment of the Parliamentary System in India, I for one would have nothing to do with it'.

Revolutionary Movement

Along with the open political movements, there arose in the first decade of the twentieth century various revolutionary groups

in different parts of the country. These early revolutionaries, active mainly in Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Punjab, had no faith in constitutional agitations They believed that by terrorizing British officials, they would be able to demoralize the entire machinery of the government and bring about freedom After the government suppressed almost all open political agitation and imprisoned a large number of nationalist leaders, the activities of the revolutionary groups were intensified

The revolutionary groups organized assassination of unpopular police officials, magistrates and approvers, committed dacoities to collect money for their activities and looted arms. Attempts were made on the lives of two Viceroys, Minto and Hardinge. Such movements were organized outside India, in Europe and America also. Of these, the most prominent was the Ghadar (meaning 'mutiny') party. These movements collected money for use by revolutionaries in India, tried to smuggle arms into India and fomented mutinies of Indian soldiers in India as well as those stationed in Burma and Singapore Although the methods of individual terrorism could not be effective against a mighty empire, the heroism and self-sacrifice of these revolutionaries were a source of inspiration to the people and helped in the growth of popular nationalist feelings.

Formation of the Muslim League

After the Revolt of 1857, the British government followed a policy of 'divide and rule'. Elphinstone had frankly said, " 'Divide et impera' was the old Roman motto, as it should be ours." In the beginning, Muslims were discriminated against They were kept out of the army and the services. However, when the nationalist movement arose, the policy of the government underwent a change. The government branded the Congress as a Hindu movement and encouraged the upper class Muslims to start their own separate organizations against the Congress When the partition of Bengal led to a united protest movement, Curzon himself toured eastern Bengal and addressed Muslims on the advantages that would accrue to them as a majority community in East Bengal However, at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, a large number of Muslim delegates participated. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who later led the movement for a separate state of Pakistan, was also present. He moved an amendment opposing reservation of seats, which was accepted Moving the amendment, he said: "The foundation upon which the Indian National Congress is based is that we are all equal, that there should be no reservation for any class or any community, and my whole object is that the reservation should be deleted"

However, in spite of the fact that many Muslims had joined the united nationalist movement, the influence of the communal elements among Muslims became strong. Many leaders still looked for concessions from the government to promote the interests of the newly emerging middle class and upper class economic interests. The leadership feared that, by opposing the British government, the Muslim middle and upper class economic interests would suffer Another reason was the suspicion which the Hindu revivalism associated with some 'extremist' leaders of the Congress had created in the Muslims.

The encouragement given by the government to upper class Muslims and thus to communal politics is evident from the events which led to the formation of the Muslim League On 1 October, 1906, a Muslim delegation led by the Agha Khan

met Governor-General Minto at Shimla. The Agha Khan, the religious head of a Muslim sect, was an exceedingly wealthy person. He led a life of luxury, mostly in Europe. Another important leader was Nawab Salimullah of Dacca (now Dhaka). The Governor-General encouraged the deputationists and within three months, on 30 December 1906, the Muslim League was formed. The objects of the League were:

(a) to promote amongst the Mussalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of the government with regard to any of its measures,

(b) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of Mussalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to the government,

(c) to prevent the rise among Mussalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

However, in spite of the 'promotion ... of loyalty' by the Muslim League, more and more Muslims were drawn into the nationalist movement. In 1912, Abul Kalam Azad founded the *Al Hilal* and Maulana Mohamed Ali started the *Comrade* in English and *Hamdard* in Urdu. These papers started by eminent nationalists carried on their advocacy of the popular cause and infused the masses with their fervour. The Muslim League also, in 1913, adopted the goal of self-government for India. In 1913 Jinnah joined the Muslim League. He did so to 'bring the policy of the League into line with the progressive and national aims of the Congress'. The outbreak of the war brought the Muslim masses into the nationalist movement on an even greater scale.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Nationalist Movement during the First World War

When the First World War broke out, the British government declared India an ally and a belligerent. Indian people and Indian resources were used for fighting the war. The strength of the Indian army was raised to 1,500,000 and compulsory recruitment of Indians was resorted to. Millions of pounds were taken from India to be used by the British government for its war expenditure. Indian soldiers were sent to fight in far-off lands.

A large number of Muslims were drawn

into the anti-British struggle during the war. British imperialism was inimical to the Turkish empire which was ruled by the Caliph (Khalifa). The defence of the Caliphate (Khilafat) became an important question for Muslims in many countries. Muslims in India were also drawn into the movement for the defence of Turkey and against the British. Peasant unrest also grew during the war years and peasant movements during this period helped prepare the ground for a mass movement. The nationalist movement grew strong during the war years Tilak was released in 1914 and in 1916, he formed the Home Rule League. Annie Besant formed another Home Rule League a few months later. In 1916 at the Lucknow session of the Congress, the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' were united. Equally significant was the unity between the Congress and the Muslim League achieved at Lucknow in 1916. According to the pact, the Congress and the League agreed to join their efforts to demand (i) that a majority of the members of the Legislative Councils be elected; (ii) that the Legislative Councils be invested with wider powers than heretofore; (iii) that at least half the seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council be filled by Indians. The Lucknow Pact, as the Congress-Muslim League united programme was called, was an important achievement.

Meanwhile the Home Rule campaign was being intensified. Many 'moderate' leaders like Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das came out in support of Home Rule. Repressive measures followed The papers mentioned before, *Al Hilal, Comrade and Hamdard,* were banned. Annie Besant was interned, and her paper, *New India,* was forfeited. The government action enraged the people. Protesting against the repression, C.R. Das said: "I do not think the God of humanity was crucified only once. Every outrage on humanity at the hands of tyrants and oppressors is a fresh nail driven through his sacred flesh."

The statement of the Secretary of State after the outbreak of war that 'the goal of the British policy is progressive realization of responsible government in India' prompted many nationalist leaders, including Gandhiji, to support the British war campaign in the hope of attaining self-government after the war. Gandhiji later said: "In all these efforts at service, I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality for my countrymen." The reforms [illegible] were announced at the end of the war came as a disappointment. The resulting frustration led to an unprecedented upsurge of nationalist sentiments.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT BECOMES A MASS MOVEMENT, 1919-1927

Gandhiji's Leadership

The nationalist movement grew into a widespread mass anti-imperialist movement at the end of the war Many factors contributed to this development. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came into prominence at this time and became the undisputed leader of the nationalist movement. After studying law in England, he had gone to South Africa to start his legal practice. In the struggle against the discriminatory and racialist policy of the government of South Africa, he perfected his philosophy of action. It consisted of non-violent resistance and, when applied to the Indian scene, it served to bring millions of people into the movement for Swaraj. Powerful mass

movements were launched under his leadership. These involved defiance of laws, peaceful demonstrations, boycott of courts, stoppage of work, boycott of educational institutions, picketing of shops selling liquor and foreign goods, non-payment of taxes and the closing of vital business. These non-violent but no less revolutionary methods influenced millions of people belonging to all sections of society and infused in them bravery and self-confidence. Millions now braved the repression resorted to by the government, boldly courted imprisonment and faced lathicharges and firings. Gandhiji lived the simple life of an ascetic and talked to the people in a language they could understand. He came to be known to the people of India as Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhiji made social reform a part of the programme of the nationalist movement His greatest achievement in the field of social reform was the campaign against the inhuman institution of untouchability which had degraded millions of Indians. His other achievement was in the field of cottage industries. He saw in the charkha, the spinning wheel, the salvation of the village people, and its promotion became a part of the Congress programme. In addition to infusing people with the spirit of nationalism, it provided employment to millions and created a large group of people who were ready to throw themselves into the struggle and court imprisonment. The charkha became so important that it eventually became a part of the flag of the Indian National Congress.

Gandhiji devoted himself to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. He regarded communalism as anti-national and inhuman. Under his leadership the unity of the nationalist movement was secured and the people of India marched on in their quest for independence.

Consequences of the War and Repressive Measures

Apart from Gandhiji's leadership, several other factors led to the growth of nationalist movement into a mass movement The war expenditure imposed on India had further impoverished the masses The spread of influenza epidemic took a huge toll of human lives The war was followed by an upsurge of nationalism in many countries Three autocracies had been overthrown —Hohenzollern in Germany, Habsburg in Austria and Romanov in Russia. The fall of autocracies had a healthy effect on the political climate of the world Indian nationalist leaders were also deeply influenced by the Russian Revolution. The Soviet government of Russia proclaimed the right of subject nations to indepen dence and gave up the imperialist gains which the Czarist regime had acquired. All these developments influenced the consciousness of the Indian people and inspired them to plunge themselves into the nationalist struggle with greater vigour

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which became the Government of India Act in 1919, clearly defined the jurisdiction of the central and provincial governments. The central legislature now consisted of two houses with elected majorities. However, the franchise was limited and the legislature had no real powers. In the provinces, a system called 'dyarchy' was introduced. There were elected majorities in the legislative councils, the franchise being based on property qualifications and communal electorates. There were certain provincial subjects which were under the jurisdiction of the legislative councils but the

governors had wide powers of interference and the legislatures were, for all practical purposes, powerless. The reforms introduced were a far cry from the aim of Swaraj and were condemned both by the Congress and the League The reforms further angered the masses and were condemned as unsatisfactory

The defeat of Turkey in the war and the dismemberment of the Turkish empire angered the Muslim masses and led to an outburst of popular feeling against the British government.

The British government resorted to repressive measures. In 1919, the Rowlatt Act was passed in spite of being opposed by all Indian members of the legislative council. The Act authorized the government to imprison people without trial Three Indian members—Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Mazharul Haque — resigned from the council in protest. The Rowlatt Act aroused a wave of popular indignation and led to the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh All the repressive measures, however, only added fuel to the fire of nationalism.

The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh

The Rowlatt Act came into effect in March 1919. Voices from all over the country swelled the chorus of protest. On 6 April, there were strikes, hartals, and demonstrations at many places. In Punjab, the protest movement was particularly strong. The government resorted to lathicharge and firing in many places. On 10 April, two outstanding leaders of the Congress, Dr Satya Pal and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, were arrested and taken to an unknown place. To protest against the arrests, a public meeting was held on 13 April in Jallianwala Bagh, a small park enclosed by buildings on all sides, in Amritsar General Dyer with his British troops entered the park, closed the only exit and, without giving any warning, ordered the troops to fire. The meeting had been peaceful and there had been no provocation. Among those who had come to the meeting were women, children and old persons. The firing lasted about 10 minutes and about 1600 rounds were fired. As the exit, which was a narrow passage, had been closed, no one was allowed to escape. After some time, Dyer left with his troops. About 1000 dead, according to unofficial estimates, and about 2000 wounded persons lay unattended to in the Bagh. The monstrous act provoked unparalleled indignation throughout the country.

Dyer's 'unexampled act of brutality' and 'deliberately calculated massacre' shocked the conscience of many Englishmen.

Immediately after the massacre, martial law was declared throughout Punjab and a reign of terror was let loose. However, the terror failed to crush the movement and the 'moral effect' which Dyer hoped to create failed to materialize. Soon the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation movements broke out.

Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements

The Khilafat movement was organized by the famous Ali brothers, Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, and others in protest against the injustice done to Turkey after the war In fact, it became a part of the Indian nationalist movement. The Congress leaders joined in the Khilafat agitation and helped in organizing it throughout the country

In 1920, the Congress adopted the new

programme of non-violent Non-Cooperation under the leadership of Gandhiji. The aims of the Non-Cooperation movement were to redress the wrongs done to Punjab and Turkey, and the attainment of Swaraj. It was to proceed in stages, beginning with the renunciation of titles, to be followed by the boycott of the legislatures, law courts and educational institutions and the campaign of non-payment of taxes.

It was decided to organize a corps of 150,000 volunteers to carry on the campaign of Non-Cooperation

The Non-Cooperation movement was a great success. In the elections to the legislatures, about two-thirds of voters did not vote. Educational institutions were deserted. A new programme of national education was started. Such institutions as the Jamia Millia and the Kashi Vidya Peeth were established. Many Indians resigned their government jobs. Foreign cloth was burnt in bonfires. There were strikes all over the country. In Malabar, the Moplah rebellion broke out. Hindus and Muslims participated in the movement as one, and scenes of fraternization were witnessed all over the country Amongst the Sikhs, there was a movement to dislodge the pro-government and corrupt mahants from gurudwaras Thousands of persons enrolled themselves as volunteers In the midst of the movement, the Prince of Wales arrived in India On the day of his arrival on

Delegates to Indian National Congress session held at Amritsar in December 1919 Seated on chair, right to left, are: Madan Mohan Malaviya, Annie Besant, Swami Shradhanand, Motilal Nehru (President), Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others. Sitting on the ground, left to right, are. Jawaharlal Nehru, S Satyamurti and others

17 November 1921, he was 'greeted' by general strikes and demonstrations. At many places, police resorted to firing at the demonstrators. The repression continued and by the end of the year all the top leaders with the exception of Gandhiji were arrested. By the beginning of 1922, about 30,000 persons were in jail.

At the height of the Non-Cooperation movement and the repressive measures of the British government, the annual session of the Congress was held at Ahmedabad in December 1921. The Congress, under the Presidentship of Hakim Ajmal Khan, decided to continue the movement until the Punjab and Khilafat grievances were redressed and Swaraj attained. The mood of the people can be gauged from the fact that, at this session, many people were no longer satisfied with the slogan of Swaraj which did not mean complete independence. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, an eminent nationalist leader and a leading Urdu poet, proposed that Swaraj should be defined as 'Complete Independence free from all foreign control'. The proposal was not accepted but it showed the dynamics of political consciousness at work in the people

Early in February, Gandhiji decided to launch a no-tax campaign in Bardoli district in Gujarat. However, in Chauri Chaura (in Uttar Pradesh) people turned violent and set fire to a police station causing the death of 22 policemen. When the news reached Gandhiji, he decided to call off the Non-Cooperation movement. The Work-

Seated on chair, right to left are Mohamed Ali, Bharti Krishna Tiratiji (Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth) and Shaukat Ali. Seated on the ground is Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew. They were tried in 1921 at Karachi and Ali Brothers and Dr Kitchlew were sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

ing Committee of the Congress met on 12 February 1922 and decided to concentrate on the popularization of charkha, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and combating of untouchability.

Those leaders of the Congress who were in jail were unhappy to learn that the movement had been called off. Gandhiji himself was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. However, he was released within two years and started his constructive programme for the popularization of charkha, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and combating of untouchability. He also took up the cause of the promotion of national education. A section of the Congress led by Motilal Nehru and C.R Das formed the Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party and decided to participate in the elections to the various legislative bodies which had been boycotted earlier, and to wreck them from within until the demands of the people were met. Subsequently, some of them, led by Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lajpat Rai opposed the policy of wrecking the councils from within and decided to offer Responsive Cooperation to the government.

Communalism and its Dangerous Effects

An unfortunate development after the calling off of the Non-Cooperation movement was the growth of communal tension and the occurrence of communal riots Movements of *tabligh* and *shuddhi* were started which resulted in the growth of communal tension The *tabligh* movement was started by Muslim communalists to promote conversion to Islam. The *shuddhi* movement was started by Hindu communalists to reconvert to Hinduism persons who had been converted to other religions Communalism implied the starting of political movements in the name of promoting the interests of one's own community and protesting against the real or imaginary advantages enjoyed by other communities. It was based on the view that the political, economic, social and cultural interests of the people belonging to different religious communities were not only separate and different from one another but also antagonistic to one another.

However, the communal parties did not advance the interests of their communities. The interests of one community could not be separated from the interests of the entire nation. The communal parties were not concerned with the freedom of the country but wanted to get concessions for the upper classes of their communities. You have already read about the Muslim League which cut itself off from the Congress in the 1920s and started pursuing its communal demands. Meanwhile, several Hindu communal organizations had also been formed. The most important of these was the Hindu Mahasabha which had been formed in 1915. It demanded special privileges for Hindus in provinces where they were in a minority just as the Muslim League demanded special privileges for Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority. Both played into the hands of British imperialism.

These tendencies hampered the nationalist movement. They diverted the attention of people from the need for independence from foreign rule The communalists belonging to various communities had many things in common. They attached more importance to getting more seats in the legislatures than to the independence of the country Both looked up to the British rulers for patronage They did not concern themselves with questions affecting the

common people —poverty, social reforms and equality They were concerned only with the rights and privileges of the upper classes of their community and were united in their opposition to radical social reforms and changes.

Communal thinking also influenced some sections among the Sikhs. Various caste organizations in different parts of the country also played a disruptive role similar to the one played by the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communal organizations

Many communal riots occurred in various parts of the country as a result of the activities of communal organizations and the encouragement they received from the British government

Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru in Calcutta in 1937

FROM SWARAJ TO COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE, 1927-1939

After the calling off of the Non-Cooperation movement, for a few years there were no nation-wide political campaigns or agitations and the constructive programme of Gandhiji was taken up But soon this lull was over. The Congress adopted the slogan of Complete Independence and a mighty movement known as the Civil Disobedience movement was launched to achieve it The nationalist movement now assumed a wider character and adopted a comprehensive programme for the social and economic reconstruction of Indian society once independence was attained. Thus the struggle for political independence became a prerequisite for the reconstruction of Indian society.

Next to Gandhiji, the central figure in the new phase of the nationalist movement was Jawaharlal Nehru After receiving his education in England, Jawaharlal returned to India in 1912. Soon he came under the spell of Gandhiji and threw himself into the nationalist struggle. His contact with the peasants of Uttar Pradesh, which he developed in the 1920s aroused the deepest emotions in him and made him a life-long champion of the oppressed He wrote about his experience "I was filled with shame and sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India A new picture of India seemed to arise before me, naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable." This 'discovery of India' made his nationalist thinking all the more intense, and national independence and the struggle to improve people's condition became one to him. In December 1921, he was arrested along with Motilal Nehru, his father, and other nationalist leaders He was released for a few weeks, then re-arrested and again released early in 1923 Then he went to Nabha, which was a princely state, to observe the demonstration of Akali Sikhs against the corrupt mahants He was arrested and sentenced after the pretence of

a trial. His experience of Nabha opened his eyes to the other India, the India ruled by the Indian princes. It was no better than British rule and, in many respects, even worse. He became the champion of the rights of the people of the princely states. Within a few years, the movement of the people of these states against the oppression by their rulers became an integral part of the nationalist movement. He became one of the general secretaries of the Congress when Maulana Mohamed Ali was the President.

Another important leader to rise in this period was Subhas Chandra Bose. Educated at Calcutta and Cambridge, he was selected to the Indian Civil Service but, instead, plunged himself into the nationalist struggle. He organized student and youth associations throughout the country for the strengthening of the nationalist movement and, in 1924, was arrested on the charge of organizing terrorist activities. Jawaharlal and Subhas became the leaders of the radical wing in the nationalist movement and the idols of youth all over the country.

The Simon Commission

In November 1927, the British government appointed the Simon Commission to look into the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 and to suggest changes. The Commission consisted of Englishmen without a single Indian representative. Also its terms of reference did not hold out hopes of anything remotely like Swaraj.

At the Congress session at Madras in

A contemporary illustration depicting the police assault on demonstrators led by Lala Lajpat Rai, protesting against the Simon Commission at Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai died of the injuries suffered by him during the assault.

December 1927, a resolution calling for Complete Independence was passed. This was the first time that a resolution demanding complete independence had been passed by the Congress. By another resolution, it was decided to boycott the Simon Commission.

The Commission arrived in India in February 1928 and was met with a country-wide hartal. Even the majority of the members of the Central Legislative Assembly boycotted the Commission. Anti-Simon Committees were formed all over the country to organize demonstrations and hartals wherever the Commission went. Peaceful demonstrators were beaten up by the police at many places. Lala Lajpat Rai was assaulted and soon after died. Govind Ballabh Pant received a lathi blow which disabled him for life.

Two other events aroused popular resentment in this period. In March 1929, 31 labour leaders were arrested on the charge of conspiracy. The leaders included three Englishmen who had helped in the organization of the workers' movement in India. They were taken to Meerut and were tried. The trial which lasted four years is known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Many defence committees were formed all over the country and even in England and other foreign countries. The nationalist leaders provided legal defence to the accused. Some of them were acquitted while others were convicted. The workers' organizations had been growing and played an active part in the nationalist movement. Many British socialists helped in organizing the workers. The British government got scared, and in 1929 issued the Public Safety Ordinance to remove from India persons it considered 'British and foreign communist agents' The government had also enacted a law to curb trade union activities.

Another case is known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case. After the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, there had been a revival of revolutionary activities. Four revolutionaries, including Ram Prasad Bismil and Ashfaqulla, belonging to the Hindustan Republican Association had been hanged after their trial under the Kakori Conspiracy case. In 1928, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and others had founded a new revolutionary organization called the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association. On 8 April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt went to the Central Legislative Assembly and threw a bomb at government benches and raised slogans of 'Long Live the Revolution'. There were no casualties and probably none was intended. Bhagat Singh and Dutt surrendered and were taken into custody. Many other members of the association were arrested later and a bomb workshop unearthed. Except for Chandra Shekhar Azad (who was later killed in an encounter with the police), all the prominent members were arrested and charged with the murder of the Superintendent of Police of Lahore also. The prisoners were brutally treated in jail. Jatin Das died after a hunger strike lasting 64 days. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukh Dev were later sentenced to death. Their execution aroused a wave of indignation all over the country

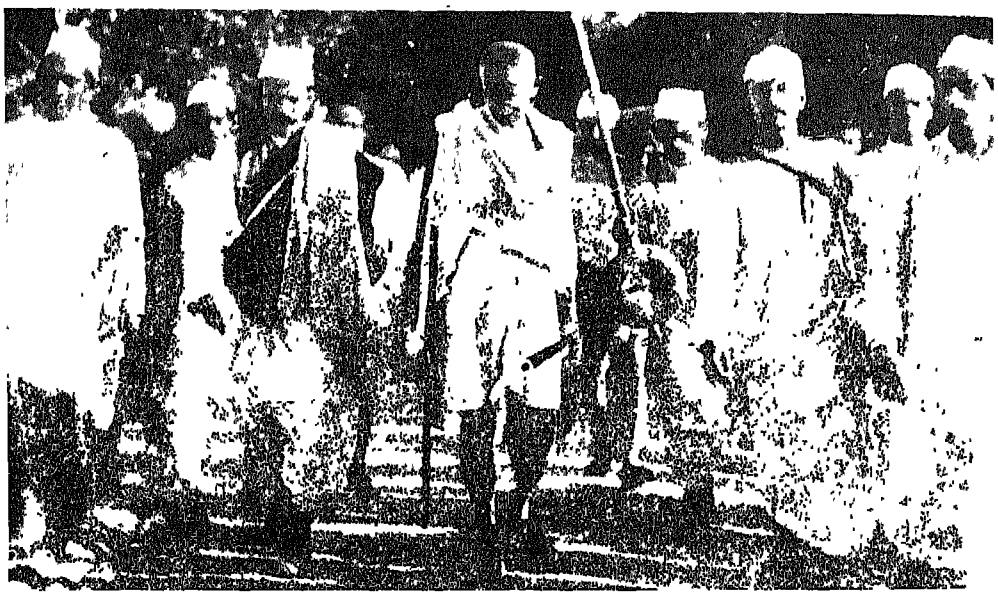
Lahore Congress and the Civil Disobedience Movement

In December 1929, the Congress session was held at Lahore with Jawaharlal Nehru as the President. The Congress declared the attainment of Complete Independence as its aim and decided to launch a Civil Disobedience movement under the leader-

ship of Gandhiji. It was decided to celebrate 26 January as the Independence Day all over the country. On 26 January 1930, meetings were held all over the country and the Congress tricolor was hoisted. The people took the 'Pledge of Independence' at these meetings. The Pledge stated: "The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence. We believe it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is through non-violence. We will, therefore, prepare our selves . for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes."

Because of its significance in the nationalist struggle, 26 January was chosen as the day to mark the birth of the Indian Republic in 1950. So Independence Day of the pre-independence years has become Republic Day in Free India.

The Civil Disobedience movement began with what is known as the Dandi March. Gandhiji, along with 78 of his followers, started from his ashram at Sabarmati on a march to Dandi on the sea-coast on foot and broke the law by making salt. In April, he gave instructions to launch the movement "Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt, sisters should picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops .. Foreign cloth should be



Gandhiji, along with his followers, during his march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi

burnt. Hindus should eschew untouchability... Let students leave government schools and colleges and government servants resign their service. . and we shall soon find that Purana Swaraj will come knocking at our doors "

As soon as the Civil Disobedience movement started, all the important leaders including Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested. By the beginning of 1931, 90,000 persons were in jail and 67 papers had been banned. In April and May 1930, three dramatic incidents had taken place At Peshawar, Indian soldiers refused to open fire on the demonstrators when ordered to do so. In Sholapur, martial law had to be imposed to suppress the mass upsurge In Chittagong, the revolutionaries captured the armoury and there was a pitched battle between the government troops and the revolutionaries

In January 1931, Gandhiji and some other leaders were released. In March an agreement known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed under which the movement was called off The government promised to release all political prisoners except those charged with acts of violence. The Congress agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference which had been called to consider a scheme for a new constitution for India.

In 1931, the Congress met at Karachi. It approved the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The most significant contribution of the Karachi session was a resolution it passed on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy. It outlined a plan for the reconstruction of Indian society after independence, and was to furnish many aims and ideals for the Constitution of India and the social and economic policy of the Indian Republic.

The Civil Disobedience movement was revived on Gandhiji's return from the Round Table Conference in London, when Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, declined to grant even an interview to Gandhiji. Gandhiji was arrested The movement continued for two years. The repression of the government was more severe than it had been before. By April 1933, about 120,000 persons had been imprisoned In May 1934 the entire Civil Disobedience movement was called off

The Civil Disobedience movement had involved millions of people, young and old, men and women, people belonging to all regions and communities The communal organizations, both of Hindus and Muslims, during this period concentrated on getting more seats in the legislatures and refrained from an active role in the independence movement. They had no substantial following and did not seriously affect the course of the movement.

Influence of Socialist Ideas

In 1920 was founded the All India Trade Union Congress The trade union movement enjoyed the support of many national leaders. Besides working for improvements in the living conditions of workers, it mobilized the workers in the cause of independence.

The peasants were drawn into the nationalist struggle towards the end of the First World War. The economic grievances of the peasants against landlords and the government inevitably drew them into the nationalist struggle. In 1917-18, Gandhiji launched what is known as the Champaran Movement in Bihar against the indigo planters. During the Non-Cooperation movement, peasants all over the country opposed the heavy land revenue they had to pay and this became an integral part of the

struggle for Swaraj. Later on, many peasant organizations were formed. These organizations participated in the struggle for freedom, campaigned against heavy land taxes and advocated the abolition of the zamindari system. Many nationalist leaders led peasant struggles. The participation of peasants in the freedom struggle helped in making it more broad-based and extensive, and land reforms to alleviate the sufferings of the peasants became one of its important aims.

The ideas of socialism also gradually gained ground in the nationalist movement. The Russian Revolution had made a deep impact on the thinking of the nationalist leaders. Many leaders were socialists in their ideological beliefs and advocated the adoption of socialist policies The most outstanding of these leaders was Jawaharlal Nehru. He had been influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx and other socialist thinkers and had developed close relations with socialist leaders of Europe. He popularized the ideas of socialism and persuaded the Congress to adopt a radical programme of social and economic reconstruction. Although the Congress was not wholly committed to his idea of socialism, his ideas influenced the policies of the nationalist movement with regard to social and economic matters. With the support of Nehru the Congress Socialist Party was formed in 1934. It worked within the Indian National Congress and advocated the convening of a Constituent Assembly to decide the future of India and the establishment of a socialist society. The Communist Party of India had been formed earlier in 1925 and exercised a powerful influence over industrial workers. It wanted the nationalist movement to be based on the economic demands of workers. Many of its later leaders came from the Congress Socialist Party and worked in the Indian National Congress.

The States People's Movement

There were about 600 states in India which were ruled over by Indian princes. They covered about one-third of India's territory and about one-fifth of India's population Many of these states were so small as to be no more than zamindaris There were some like Hyderabad, which were large and had a population of several million people. These states were allowed to continue after the Revolt of 1857 though they were at the mercy of the British government. As they owed their existence to the British government, they were loyal supporters of the British rule in India. These states were ruled by the princes in a most authoritarian manner. People suffered from extreme economic and political disabilities in these states They had no civil rights and no law except that of the ruler and had to perform forced labour. While the people were oppressed, the rulers led opulent and degenerate lives. Any attempt at political, social and economic reform in these states was most ruthlessly put down. The nationalist movement could not be fully national unless it concerned itself also with the liberation of the people of the Indian states from the oppression of their rulers. The Congress for a long time did not pay much heed to the sad plight of these people. However, the people in several states organized themselves and demanded civil rights in the states. In 1927 the All India States People's Conference was formed. The Conference focused the attention of the Indian people all over the country on the conditions prevailing in the states. In a statement, the Conference pointed out: "In

Jawaharlal Nehru being taken in a procession in Ludhiana in 1939 The All India States People's Conference which held its session there was presided over by him

these states, big or small, with very few exceptions, personal, autocratic rule prevails There is no rule of law and taxation is excessive and unbearable. Civil liberties are crushed. The privy purse of the rulers is usually not fixed and even where it is fixed, that is not adhered to. On the one hand, there is the extravagance and luxury of the princes; on the other, the extreme poverty of the people

"With the hard-earned money of the poverty-stricken and miserable people, enjoyment is bought and luxury is flaunted by their rulers in foreign countries and in India. This system cannot continue No civilized people can tolerate it. The whole argument of history is against it; the temper of the Indian people cannot submit to it."

The Congress gradually veered round to this view and gave recognition to the rights of the people of the states. It declared "The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated Purna Swaraj or complete independence which is the objective of Congress is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection." Thus the ending of the oppressive rule of the Indian princes became a part of the nationalist movement's programme and the aim of building a united India was firmly laid down

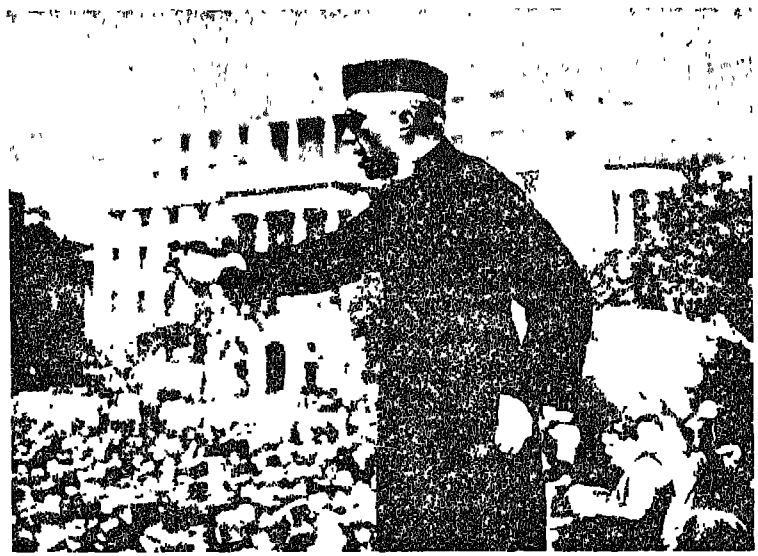
The Nationalist Movement and the World

Throughout its history, Indian nationalist movement was intimately connected with developments in other countries You have read earlier about the influence which the Russo-Japanese War, the First World War and the Russian Revolution had exerted on the nationalist movement. Many people outside India supported the nationalist cause. You have already seen how, as early as 1857, there were groups in England which tried to rouse the conscience of the people of England against the atrocities committed by the British government in India. In the twentieth century, several organizations were established in various countries by Indians with the help of enlightened people there to propagate the cause of Indian independence in those countries. One of the most important of these organizations was the India League in En-

gland which did significant work in mobilizing British opinion against the British government's policies in India. Many British labour leaders actively campaigned for Indian independence

Our leaders also gradually became aware of the freedom movements in other countries and made common cause with them Jawaharlal Nehru played an important part in developing the consciousness of the Indian people on international issues. In 1927, when he had gone to Europe he attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, which had been called at Brussels by the well-known scientist Albert Einstein, the writer Romain Rolland and many others. An organization called the League against Imperialism was formed and the Indian National Congress was affiliated to it. The League campaigned for putting an end to imperialism everywhere.

When the Japanese invasion of China started in 1931, the people of India extended their support to the people of China The 1920s and 1930s saw the growth of fascism in Europe, particularly in Germany and Italy where the fascist parties came to power and destroyed even the elementary liberties of the people. Democracy and freedom all over the world were endangered even more than under the old imperialism when the fascist countries started planning conquests. The Indian nationalists understood the danger which fascism posed to the peoples of the world The Congress opposed fascism and supported the peoples struggling against it The fascists of Spain were supported by Hitler's Germany in their revolt against the democratic government of Spain. The other



Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a public meeting in support of the Spanish Republicans at Trafalgare Square, London, 1938

countries of Europe were indifferent to the civil war in Spain and the bombing of innocent people in Spanish villages and towns by German planes.

The Spanish civil war had aroused the conscience of the people everywhere and warned them of the danger which fascism presented An international brigade of volunteers formed by ordinary citizens of the world fought shoulder to shoulder with the Republicans in Spain. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was in Europe at the time of the civil war, visited Spain and extended the support of the Indian nationalist movement to the people of Spain in their hour of need When Mussolini, the fascist dictator of Italy, expressed a desire to see Jawaharlal Nehru, Nehru refused to see him He also had no illusions left regarding the democratic professions of Western countries. They had betrayed Spain and were soon to betray Czechoslovakia and hand it over to Germany. Jawaharlal Nehru said about the governments of Western countries when they betrayed Czechoslovakia "History long ages hence will remember this infamy and will not forgive them"

Under Jawaharlal Nehru, the cause of freedom and democracy in other countries became dear to the Indian people struggling for the independence of their country. This fraternity with the oppressed peoples all over the world was to become the basis of independent India's foreign policy At the same time, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Indians fighting for independence learned that their conflict was with the British government and not with the British people.

Constitutional Developments

The British government promulgated the Government of India Act on 2 August 1935. This Act envisaged an All-India Federation of British Indian Provinces and Indian states and the establishment of provincial autonomy in the federating provinces At the centre a central legislative assembly and a council of states were to be formed The Indian princes were to be given disproportionately high representation in the two houses at the centre. The provision regarding the formation of the federation never came into operation and the new constitution was introduced only in the provinces.

The Nationalist Movement, 1935-39

In April 1936, the Congress session was held at Lucknow under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru In 1934, the Congress had demanded the formation of a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise to decide the constitution for India. In December 1936, at a special session, the Congress in a resolution rejected the Government of India Act of 1935 and stated that the Constitution that had been imposed on India was against the declared will of the people It reiterated its resolve regarding the Constituent Assembly.

Although the Congress condemned the Government of India Act, it decided to participate in the elections to the provincial lesgislatures which were to take place in 1937. The Election Manifesto of the Congress demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly. It also advocated land reforms to save the peasants from ruthless exploitation, equal rights for men and women, and improvement in the condition of workers.

The elections were held in 1937 and about 15.5 million people cast their votes Besides the Congress, many other parties including the Muslim League participated in the elections The Congress swept the polls in most parts of the country. In six provinces, it won an absolute majority and

in three other provinces, it emerged as the single largest party. There were 482 seats reserved for Muslims. Of these, the Muslim League, which claimed to represent all the Muslims in India, won only 108 seats. In four provinces, including the North-West Frontier Province where Muslims constituted the majority community, the League failed to secure a single seat. In that province, the nationalist movement under the leadership of the veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, secured significant victories and the Muslim League, which wanted to divide the nationalist movement on the basis of religion failed to have any influence there.

After the elections, the question of forming ministries in the provinces arose. Many leaders were opposed to the forming of ministries by the Congress. However, it was decided by a majority vote to form ministries wherever the Congress had a majority. In July 1937, on the assurance of the Viceroy that the governors would not interfere in the administration, the Congress formed its ministries in six provinces -- United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras and Bombay. In the North-West Frontier Province and Assam, the Congress formed its ministries later and, in Sind, a ministry was formed with the support of the Congress.

These ministries took some important steps immediately after coming to power. Political prisoners were released and bans on newspapers were lifted Important steps were also taken in the field of education.

In 1938 the Congress with Subhas Chandra Bose as its President expressed its total opposition to the scheme for a federation at the centre proposed by the British government and prepared to launch a movement to gain independence immediately. It was proposed that the British government be presented with an ultimatum to agree to independence, failing which a movement would be launched. But the following year the radical and the moderate sections of the Congress were divided on this issue, and Subhas Chandra Bose decided to contest against the moderate candidate for Presidentship at the Tripuri session of the Congress. This was the first time that the office of the Congress President was contested. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President but was asked to form the Working Committee in consultation with Gandhiji. The two leaders could not agree and Subhas Chandra Bose resigned. He later formed the Forward Bloc to mobilize radical elements in the country.

Indian Nationalist Movement during the Second World War

In September 1939, the Second World War broke out and the British government declared India a belligerent. Indian opinion was not sought and by a unilateral decision, India was made a party to the war

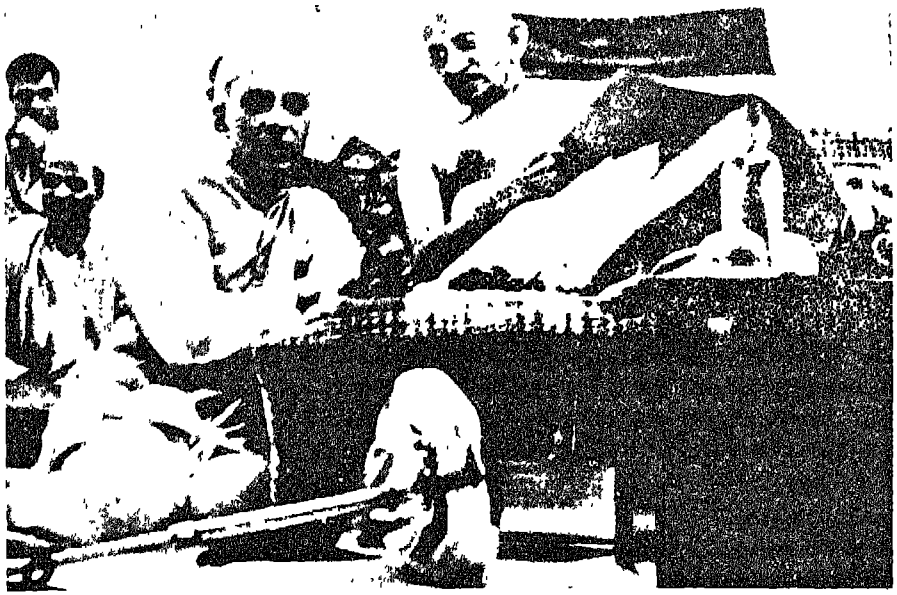
As soon as the war was declared, the Congress clearly stated its attitude It condemned the aggression committed by fascist countries — Germany and Italy and their ally, Japan —and expressed its sympathy with the victims of aggression. Britain, which claimed to be fighting for freedom, had destroyed the freedom of the Indian people and had dragged India into the war The Working Committee of the Congress in a resolution stated: "The people of India have, in the recent past, faced grave risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic state in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot

associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom, as she possesses, taken away from her"

The Congress demanded the establishment of an Indian government responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly and the promise that independence would be given as soon as the war was over The British government did not agree even to this. In November 1939, the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned because it was now clear that Britain was pursuing her own imperialist ends in the war. Another similar offer by the Congress in 1940 was also rejected by the government.

In October 1940, the Individual Satyagraha was launched by Gandhiji Selected individuals broke the law by making anti-war speeches in public and offered themselves for arrest. Vinoba Bhave was chosen as the first person to offer the Satyagraha. Soon the Individual Satyagraha became a nation-wide movement Within six months, about 25,000 persons were in jail

The movement was progressing when Germany attacked the U.S.S R., and Japan attacked the U.S naval station at Pearl Harbor, and started advancing in South-East Asia. These developments led to the widening of the war into a world war. You have read before that in January 1942, the Allied countries, including U.S A., the Soviet Union and Britain, issued the United Nations Declaration The Atlantic Charter which had been issued by the



Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on 7 August 1942 The historic 'Quit India' Resolution was passed at this meeting on 8 August 1942

United States and Britain in 1941 was agreed to by all members of the United Nations. This Charter declared: "They (the United Nations) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". The Prime Minister of Britain, Winston Churchill, however, declared that the Charter did not apply to India but was concerned with those countries of Europe which had been occupied by Germany.

Nationalist leaders including the President of the Congress, Abul Kalam Azad, and Jawaharlal Nehru were opposed to fascism and condemned it as the enemy of the freedom of peoples everywhere They expressed their sympathy and support for victims of fascist aggression. The Indian nationalist movement pledged to fight against fascism side by side with the United Nations but this could happen only if the Indian people were in control of the government of their country. Many countries, allies against fascism, put pressure on the British government to concede the demand of the Indian people.

In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India to hold talks with the Indian leaders However, the talks broke down as the British were not willing to promise independence even after the war was over and rejected the Congress proposal for the formation of a national government during the war.

A scene of tear-gassing of demonstrators in Bombay on 9 August 1942

After the failure of the talks with Cripps, the Congress prepared to launch the third mass movement against British rule. (The first was the Non-Cooperation movement and the second the Civil Disobedience movement) In August 1942, Gandhiji gave forth the slogan 'Quit India'. The Congress passed a resolution on 8 August 1942 which stated that the 'immediate ending of British rule in India' was 'an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and the success of the United Nations'. The Congress resolved to launch a mass civil disobedience struggle on the widest possible scale 'for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence', if the British rule did not end immediately. The day after the resolution was passed, the Congress was banned and all the important leaders were arrested

The arrest of the nationalist leaders provoked a wave of indignation among the people. 'Quit India', the pithiest call to action, resounded throughout the country. There were spontaneous demonstrations at many places, and people resorted to the use of violence to dislodge the foreign rule The government used police and army to suppress the movement. Hundreds of persons were killed and over 70,000 arrested in less than five months. Despite the government's ruthlessness, the struggles continued throughout the period of the Second World War.

In 1941, Subhas Chandra Bose had escaped from India and had reached Germany. He carried on activities for India's

freedom from there and made broadcasts exhorting the people of India to overthrow British rule. In July 1943, he came to Singapore. Rash Behari Bose, an Indian revolutionary who had escaped from India to Japan in 1915, had set up the Indian Independence League. After the Japanese had defeated the British in South-East Asia, the Indian National Army was organized from among the Indian soldiers who had been taken prisoner by the Japanese. Subhas Bose took over the leadership of the Indian Independence League and reorganized the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) to liberate India from British rule. On 21 October 1943, he proclaimed the setting up of the Provisional Government of Free India. In 1944, three units of the INA along with the Japanese troops moved into the Imphal-Kohima region of north-eastern India. The attack was, however, repulsed. Even though the attempt to liberate India failed, the activities of Subhas Bose and the INA served to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle in India. It may, however, be remembered that both Germany and Japan were aggressor countries with ambitions of world domination. The Indian nationalist movement had never viewed them as friends in its struggle for freedom and its sympathies, from the very beginning, had been with the victims of the German aggression in Europe and of the Japanese aggression in Asia.

The Demand for Pakistan

You have read earlier about the rise of communal parties. These parties were organized on the basis of religion and claimed to be working for the promotion of the interests of their respective communities. In reality these communal parties played into the hands of the British rulers and hampered the cause of freedom. During the period when the nationalist movement was at its height, these parties were swept away and failed to get the support of the people. The Muslim League fared badly in the elections of 1937. So did the Hindu communal organizations. However, soon communalism raised its head again, this time in a more sinister form and led to tragic consequences for the people of India.

The new development in communal politics in India was the propagation of what is known as 'the two nation theory'. According to this theory, the Muslim League led by Jinnah declared that India consisted of two separate nations — Hindus and Muslims. Politics based on this theory led to tragic incidents and ultimately the partition of the country.

The 'two-nation theory' was a total falsification of the entire history of the Indian people. In medieval times, Hindus and Muslims had developed a common culture. They were one people. In the nineteenth century, before, during, and after the Revolt of 1857 they had fought as one people to free themselves from foreign rule. In the twentieth century, when the national movement became a mass movement, people of both communities, Hindus and Muslims alike, suffered repression as one people and one nation. The nationalist movement was a struggle of the entire Indian nation involving all the communities living in India. Now the 'two-nation theory' attacked the entire basis of Indian nationalism. The Hindu communal leaders also advocated this theory by asserting that only Hindus of India constituted the nation.

In 1940, at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, the demand for a separate state of Pakistan was made. It was based on

A scene of anti-British protest in Bombay during the mutiny of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in 1946

the 'two-nation theory'. The Muslim League demanded "that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign"

The demand for a separate state was opposed by large sections of Muslims who were against any separatist demand. Many nationalist leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had always been in the forefront of the national movement, stoutly opposed the demand for a separate state as anti-national and detrimental to the interests of Muslims and the people of India as a whole. Many Muslim organizations were also opposed to the demand for a separate state and fought against communal tendencies and for the freedom of the Indian people Of these the more prominent were the Khudai Khidmatgar in the North-West Frontier Province organized by the veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as 'Frontier Gandhi', the Watan Party in Baluchistan, the All-India Momin Conference, the Ahrar Party, the All-India Shia Political Conference and the Azad Muslim Conference. These organizations, along with the Congress, led a large number of Muslims in the struggle for independence.

The Muslim League was encouraged by the British government to press its demand for a separate state and played the game of British imperialism which had the effect of disrupting and weakening the movement for independence. When the Congress withdrew from the provincial governments in protest against British attitude to the demand for independence, the Muslim

League celebrated the event by observing what it called the 'Deliverance Day', and tried to form ministries in the provinces although they did not have a majority in any provincial legislature.

Nationalist Upsurge after the Second World War

The Second World War was fought in the name of freedom and democracy by the countries of the United Nations. The conscience of vast multitudes of peoples had been stirred by the war against fascism. The demand for independence of colonial peoples swelled to a crescendo after the war. The peoples of Asia and Africa charged forward in a crowning bid for independence The political climate of the world had changed. In this general world-wide struggle against imperialism, the struggle of the Indian people shone forth unique and exemplary.

The war had changed the entire picture of the world The old imperialist countries —Britain, France, Holland and others —had been weakened by the war They were no longer powerful enough to withstand the onward march of the nationalist movements. Britain was no longer the world power it had been for centuries and her supremacy was gone for good. The U S S.R., which had suffered most heavily during the war, emerged stronger. Many countries of Europe, which had been occupied by Germany, had become socialist after the defeat of Hitler's Germany Thus in the war while fascism had been destroyed, imperialism had also received heavy blows.

In Britain itself, the Conservative Party, which was opposed to the demand for the independence of India, lost heavily in the elections. The war-time Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, who had disclaimed any intention to 'preside over the dissolution of the British Empire' was no longer the Prime Minister. There were many people in the Labour Party, which had come to power under the leadership of Attlee, who were opposed to the continuation of British rule over India. Conditions were ripe for the end of imperialism in India.

In India the resentment against British rule ran at a high pitch at this time. Indians had suffered a great deal during the war The British government had shown callous indifference to the famine-stricken people during the terrible famine that had raged in Bengal in 1943 in which three million people died At the end of the war, all this pent-up resentment broke out in dealing a final blow to foreign rule.

In November 1945, three officers of the Indian National Army were tried at the Red Fort in Delhi. They were charged with the 'crime' of conspiring against the King, that is, the British empire. They were defended by the barristers among the nation's leaders. But they were sentenced to transportation for life. The sentences which were later revoked provoked widespread popular upsurge all over the country. The armed forces were also affected. Thousands of ratings of the Royal Indian Navy revolted. There were demonstrations, strikes and hartals all over the country. The British government saw the writing on the wall. It was no longer possible to hold the Indian people in subjection.

Achievement of Independence, 1947

In February 1946, the British government sent the Cabinet Mission to India to hold discussions with Indian leaders. The British Prime Minister announced his

government's willingness to grant independence to India. The Cabinet Mission proposed the formation of a Union of India in which provinces would be grouped in four zones with their own constitutions and enjoying autonomy except in matters of foreign policy, defence and communication. It also proposed the formation of a constitution-making body, not elected by the people, but by the provincial legislatures on the basis of communal electorates. The members from the Indian states were proposed to be appointed by the rulers of Indian states. The Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission proposal regarding the constitution-making body. Although the Congress had earlier insisted on a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, it agreed to the Cabinet Mission proposal in order to avoid any delay in the achievement of independence. In July, the elections to the Constituent Assembly were completed. The Congress had won 201 out of the 210 general seats, the Muslim League won 73 out of 78 seats reserved for Muslims. The Muslim League boycotted the Assembly and pressed on with its demand for a separate state of Pakistan. The princes also boycotted the Assembly. Meanwhile the people of the states pressed for the integration of the states into a united India. On 2 September

AUGUST 15, 1947

The Statesman Supplement

THE DOMINION OF INDIA

THE DOMINION OF PAKISTAN

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

PRIME MINISTER

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

PRIME MINISTER

LORD MOUNTBATTEN

PANDIT NEHRU

MR. M. A. JINNAH

MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

MILESTONES ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Independence Day Supplement of The Statesman

1946, the Congress formed the Interim Government which was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. Later, the Muslim League also joined the Interim Government

On 24 March 1947, Lord Mountbatten was appointed the Viceroy of India and the British government announced that it would transfer power to Indian hands not later than June 1948.

On 3 June 1947, Mountbatten presented a plan for the division of India into two independent states -- the Indian Union and Pakistan. The Indian states were given the right to decide their own future. Partition was completed and power was transferred to the two States of India and Pakistan. Pakistan comprised West Punjab, East Bengal, Sind, and the N.W F P.

On 15 August 1947, India became independent Unfortunately, the victory of the glorious struggle of the Indian people for independence was tainted by ugly happenings immediately before and after the achievement of independence. Millions lost their homes, several thousand persons were killed. Gandhiji had been touring the riot-affected areas bringing solace and comfort to the people On the day India became independent, he was in Calcutta which had

Jawaharlal Nehru making his famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech in the Constituent Assembly on the eve of India's independence

been ravaged by communal rioting. He came to Delhi only after communal violence had ceased there. He was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic on 30 January 1948.

Building the New India

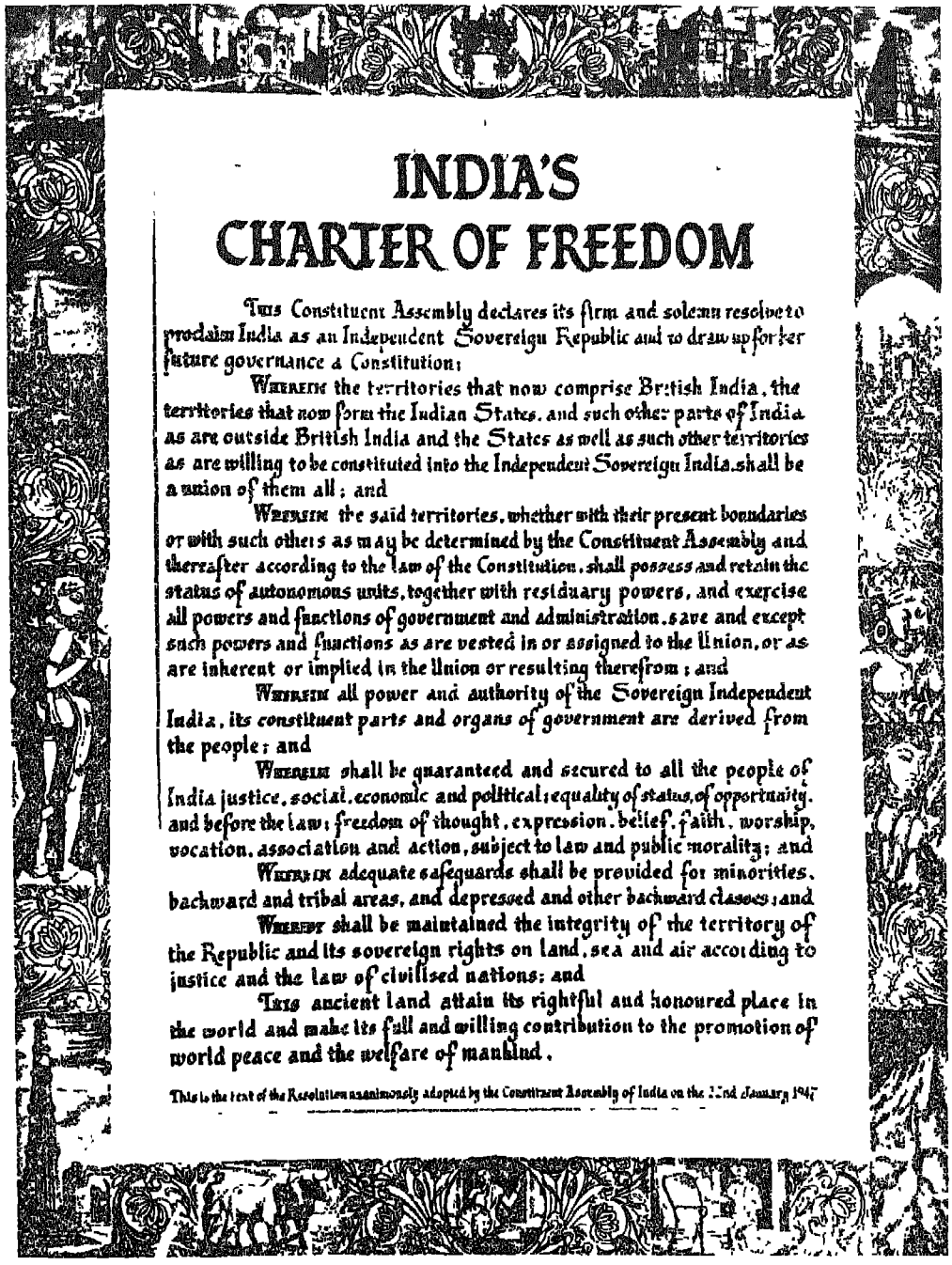
The Constituent Assembly had set itself the task of preparing a constitution of free India It started meeting on 9 December 1946 The Drafting Committee under the chairmanship of Dr B.R. Ambedkar completed its work on 26 November 1949. The constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950 when India became a Republic Every year we celebrate 15 August as the Independence Day and 26 January as the Republic Day.

The task of the Assembly was outlined by Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech moving the Objectives Resolution in the Assembly on 13 December 1946. In the Resolution that he proposed, the Assembly expressed its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic comprising British India, Indian states and other territories 'willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India'. In the Independent Sovereign India, the Assembly declared that 'justice, social, economic, and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action' shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India.

On 14 August 1947, while addressing the Constituent Assembly, which functioned also as the Parliament of Free India, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, spoke these memorable words: "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that, at this solemn moment, we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity." He spoke about the aims and dreams which awaited realization and the future 'that beckons to us now'. "That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges that we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering so long will our work not be over.

"And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

In the name of the Assembly he appealed to the people of India "to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill will or blaming others. We have to build the noble



INDIA'S CHARTER OF FREEDOM

THIS Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;

WHEREIN the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a union of them all; and

WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

WHEREIN all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government are derived from the people; and

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

WHEREIN adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

WHEREBY shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and

THIS ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

This is the text of the Resolution unanimously adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India on the 22nd January 1947

India's Charter of Freedom adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 22 January 1947

mansion of free India where all her children may dwell"

Thus began the effort to build "the noble mansion of free India". The first task was to complete the unification of India. Many rulers of the princely states were dreaming of establishing independent states of their own. However, as a result of the movement of the people of the states and the able stewardship of Sardar Patel, they acceded to India. In February 1948, the people of Junagadh, whose Nawab had fled to Pakistan, voted for accession to India. The people of Jammu and Kashmir had been keeping up the agitation against autocracy as a part of the national movement. After the invasion by Pakistani raiders, the Maharaja of Kashmir and Shaikh Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference which had been leading the popular struggle in Kashmir, requested India to accept the state's accession on 26 October 1947. The formal accession of Hyderabad to India took place in November 1949. By the end of 1949, the work of the integration of princely states had been completed and they were merged in different states of the Union.

The only Indian territories which were still under colonial rule were the French possessions —Pondicherry, Karakal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandernagore —and the Portuguese possessions —Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman and Diu. The French possessions became a part of India by 1954 and the Portuguese possessions by 1961 when Goa was liberated. With this the liberation of all parts of India from colonial rule was finally completed.

With independence, a new era opened in the history of the Indian people and the struggle to build a new and prosperous India, began in right earnest and continues

India's national movement was a glorious struggle Through this struggle, the people of India challenged the mightiest empire in the world and became independent. The movement drew together millions of people, men and women, belonging to different religious, regional and linguistic groups. It was a struggle which united all the people of India as nothing had united them before. Unity of the people of different religions, castes and creeds was the first fruit of the resurgence. The disruptive communal forces, instigated by imperialism, were overcome and the Indian people threw off the foreign yoke This unity was the best hope for the success of the struggle Under the leadership of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad, this unity was forged. The courage of standing up to the brutal repression which the people displayed and the solidarity they achieved in the face of divisive power is our most cherished heritage.

There were other features of our struggle which make the heritage an even prouder one. On the whole, it was a peaceful nonviolent struggle. No country and no people can fight for or maintain its own freedom while remaining indifferent or opposed to the freedom of others While freedom-loving peoples supported our struggle, we supported the cause of freedom everywhere. Whether it was the peoples of Asia and Africa, who were trying to free themselves from foreign rule or the peoples of Europe whose freedom was endangered by the rise of fascism, the cause of freedom in every country we valued as our own cause. Friendship for all peoples with a stake in their freedom became a unique tenet of our foreign policy in the pre-independence days and so it has remained ever since.

Another aspect of the national movement was its aim to reconstruct our society on the basis of secularism, democracy and social equality. The Indian people realized that the backward social system could not be destroyed and a new one suited to the needs of people built, unless the people were freed from the yoke of imperialism Thus the struggle to reconstruct Indian society and economy required first of all the overthrow of foreign rule. Our nationalist movement was greatly inspired by the ideas of socialism. With the achievement of independence, an even greater struggle of building a new prosperous India with a just social order started.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1. What were the basic and immediate causes of the revolt of 1857 ? What were the main centres of the revolt ? Name some important leaders of the revolt.
2. What were the differences between the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' ? Why were the 'extremists' more popular than the 'moderates' ?
3 What were the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation movements ? Name some important leaders of these movements
4. What did the slogan of Swaraj mean ? How was the slogan of Complete Independence different from it ? When and where was the slogan of Complete Independence adopted ?
5 What was the states people's movement ? Why and how did it become a part of the nationalist movement ?
6. What was the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Second World War?
7 When was the Muslim League formed ? Describe briefly the policies of the Muslim League from 1906 to 1940. When was the formation of a separate state of Pakistan adopted as the aim of the Muslim League ?
8 How were the Cabinet Mission's proposals different from the proposals made earlier by the British government during the Second World War ? Why were they accepted by the nationalist movement ?
9. Write notes on the following Partition of Bengal, Lucknow Pact of 1916, Simon Commission; 26 January 1930, Ghadar Party; India League, League against Imperialism, the Indian National Army, the Meerut and Lahore Conspiracy Cases, Civil Disobedience Movement.

Things to Do

1. Read Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography and prepare an essay on his attitude towards the following: Non-Cooperation movement, communal parties; Indian princely states, Fascism, Socialism, nature of British imperialism, his vision of Independent India
2 Prepare a chart of the nationalist movement from 1858 to 1947 showing the main stages in the growth of the movement. The chart should show the year, the main event or events, the aims and policies and the important leaders.
3. Display on wall-papers important resolutions of the Indian National Congress, for example, the resolutions on Complete Independence and Quit India

Things to Think about and Discuss

1 What do you understand by the terms `nation' and `nationalism' ? When, in your opinion, did India become a nation ? Give arguments in support of your answer

2. It is said that the constitutional reforms introduced by the British government from time to time were always too little and too late Discuss the statement relating the constitutional changes —Morley-Minto Reforms, Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the Government of India Act of 1935 —with reference to the nationalist movement.

3 Discuss the character of the communal parties and the role played by them during the struggle for independence.

4 In the light of what you have read about revolutions in a previous chapter, do you think the Indian nationalist movement was a revolutionary movement ? Substantiate your answer with arguments about the political, social and economic policies of the nationalist movement

5 You have read in the previous chapter about various reform movements of the nineteenth century Was the nationalist movement an advance on the nineteenth century reform movements as regards modernization of Indian society ? Give arguments in support of your answer

6 Discuss the attitude of the nationalist movement in India towards developments in other parts of the world, particularly towards the nationalist movements in other countries and towards fascism.

7 Write an essay on the heritage which the nationalist movement has bequeathed to us